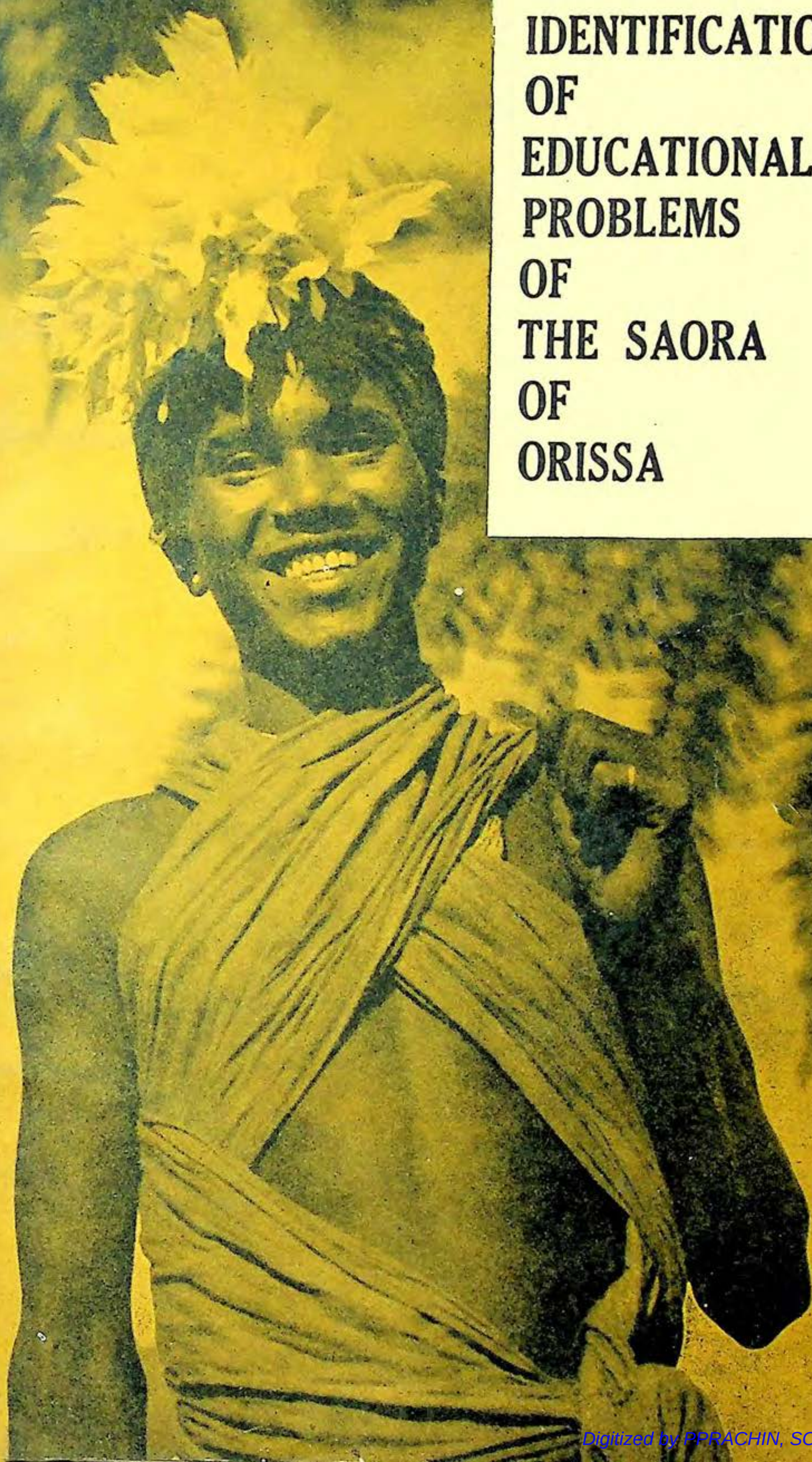
IDENTIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE SAORA OF ORISSA



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PREFACE

THE Saora are one of the most undeveloped tribes of not only Orissa but also of India. They have remained isolated within the confines of the rugged hills and dense forests of Orissa and have not shown any urge to come into contact with the outside people and take advantage of the numerous development schemes launched by the State government. Educationally also they are far behind the non-tribal communities of Orissa. The educational problems they face are immense and of great magnitude, and, in spite of the sincere efforts made by many agencies to solve them, many of them still remain unsolved. Their educational performance is discouraging and the gap in this field between them and the non-tribal communities is widening instead of narrowing, partly because the latter are developing at a much faster speed, and partly because the programmes of educational development of the Saora are not creating the required amount of impression on them. In view of this situation obtaining among the Saora, this research project was undertaken to identify some of the important educational problems faced by them, to make a comparative study of the Saora and their neighbouring non-tribal communities, and on the basis of the experiences gained by the study, to make some recommendations suggesting the possible solutions of the educational problems faced by the Saora. The recommendations have been objectively made, and it is hoped that if they are implemented, a speedy development of education of the Saora could be achieved.

When we had already started the project, a question regarding the causes of illiteracy and the action taken to eradicate it was raised in the Parliament. This aspect was also, therefore, included in the present study. The causes of illiteracy have been identified and measures which may be adopted for reducing its extent, if not eradicating it completely, have been suggested.

The Saora are subdivided into many sub-tribes and are spread over a large area comprising many villages. The Lanjia Saora occupy a vast and compact area. In order to avoid a study of a conglomeration of several sub-tribes of the Saora differing from one another in some way or the other, and because of the problems of education being more acutely felt in the Lanjia Saora area, only the Lanjia Saora were selected for this study, and whatever has been said about the Saora in this study may be taken as applicable to the Lanjia Saora in particular and other sub-tribes of the Saora in general.

The fact that the study has been completed amidst numerous hazards and difficulties makes me aware of the gratitude and thankfulness I owe to several people. Shri N. Sundaram, the then Director-General, Backward Classes Welfare, Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, has, as usual, been a source of inspiration and guidance to us, for which I am immensely grateful to him. In Orissa we received help and cooperation from a number of officers and their staff—too many to mention them individually. I owe a particular debt of gratitude for their help and cooperation to Sarvashri G. N. Das, the then Director-*cum*-Joint Secretary, Department of Tribal and Rural Welfare; G. N. Mohanthy, Special Officer, Tribal Development Programme, Department of Tribal and Rural Welfare; R. N. Mohanthy, Deputy Commissioner, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (now Deputy Director, Department of Social Welfare); B. Jena, Additional District Magistrate, Koraput; M. N. Das, Sub-divisional Officer, Parlakhimedi and the Collectors of Ganjam and Koraput; Collector and District Development Officer, Puri; Sub-divisional Officer, Gunupur, Koraput; District Inspectors of Schools, Ganjam, Koraput and Puri districts; and Block Development Officers of Gumma, Rayagada, Nuagada, Gunupur, Gop and Khandpara blocks. The Statistical branch of the office of the Director of Public Instruction also rendered a good measure of assistance for which I am thankful to all its members. Thanks are also due to the Saora parents, teachers, and other village officials who bore the brunt of the unrewarding task of sitting with the investigators discussing with them and answering their many and difficult questions. The Saora parents were too simple to conceal anything or give a twist to their responses. They spoke freely and frankly about how they felt about the entire educational system. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor S.V.C. Aiya, Director, NCERT, for his keen and continued interest in the programmes of the Tribal Education Unit.

Most of the field work and part of the tabulation and analysis was done by Shri A. A. C. Lal, Lecturer, Tribal Education Unit. He has put in hard labour and made praiseworthy endeavours to get the report completed. He deserves all the credit due to him. Shri Harish Kant has typed the report.

L. R. N. Srivastava

Tribal Education Unit
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INTRODUCTION

Article 46 of the Constitution of India lays down that 'The States shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitations.'[1] To fulfil this directive efforts have been and are being made by the Central and State governments. A large sum of money, resources and time have been spent to achieve this objective, but the results are not up to the expectations. Till recently this vital problem of the educational development of the tribal people did not attract the attention of the administrators and educationists but, gradually, various non-official organizations and State governments are showing their concern for the educational development of the tribal people.

From time to time various Commissions and Committees have been instituted to study special aspects of tribal welfare and development and to make recommendations thereon. In almost all the chapters that follow references have been made to the Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission headed by Shri U.N. Dhebar, the Report of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks headed by Dr Verrier Elwin, Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes headed by Smt Renuka Ray, Report of the Backward Classes Commission headed by Shri K. Kalelkar and Report of the National Seminar on Tribal Education in India, organized by the Tribal Education Unit of the National Council of Educational Research and Training. All these reports deal with the tribal communities in India as a whole but no effort has been made in the past to identify the educational problems in general or of any particular tribe or of any particular tribal area. In the present report efforts have been made to identify the educational problems of the Lanjia Saora[2] of Orissa and suggest measures to solve the problems so identified. The findings are based on our field work and experiences gained by living in tribal villages and having direct contacts with the people. The secondary data that have gone into the report were mainly collected from block

headquarters and primary schools in the sample villages. At some places a critical analysis of the functioning of primary schools and the indifference shown by teachers and officials to the schools in tribal areas has been given, but this need not be misconstrued as an effort to malign individuals or institutions. In an effort to identify the problems by going into the depth of the existing state of affairs in the field of tribal education, we have come across and have put before the reader some harsh facts which are better faced than avoided. Those who have an intimate knowledge of the life and culture of the Saora would immediately see that the measures suggested to solve their educational problems are best suited to the conditions obtaining in the Saora area. The recommendations made in this report are with regard to the present conditions prevailing in the Lanjia Saora areas and these cannot be regarded as a blue-print for all times to come.

Importance of the Investigation

The Lanjia Saora whose main concentration is in the districts of Ganjam and Koraput of Orissa are one of the most isolated tribes of Orissa as well as India. During our first visit to the Lanjia Saora area we came across a number of educational problems faced by them. They are educationally much less developed than the other tribes of Orissa. The percentage of literacy in Ganjam is 21.7 and in Koraput 8.30, but among the Saora of Ganjam it is only 5.19 and those of Koraput 3.01. This percentage is of the entire Saora tribe. Among the Lanjia Saora it is even less than one percent. This low percentage of literacy among the Lanjia Saora, educational backwardness and other related problems of schooling in the Saora area were some of the motivating factors for taking up this study.

The Lanjia Saora are rooted to their traditional culture and have undergone little or no change over the years. They speak Saora dialect and very few of them understand Oriya, the regional language. Saora children are taught through the regional language which they do not understand in the beginning. They learn reading and writing Oriya but find it difficult to explain what they have read.

There are as many as 88 lower primary schools in the four sample blocks which are predominantly inhabited by the Saora. There are some more such schools in the other neighbouring blocks where some Lanjia Saora are living. But the number of Saora students attending these schools is very few. The functioning of these primary schools also is such that they do not cater to the needs of the people and bring about their educational development. Some of the schools go without teachers for long periods and most of them are not provided with a suitable school building and necessary teaching aids.

Though many of these primary schools are functioning for a number of years, they have not been able to attract Saora children. Most of the Saora students drop out before even completing the lower primary stage. In some of the schools, though the attendance is almost normal, the achievement made by the Saora students is very poor due to various factors which will be discussed at a later stage. These lead to a shocking incidence of wastage and stagnation of Saora students at the primary school level.

In a Saora family every member has to contribute and add to the family income. Every child is an economic unit. The children render some sort of economic assistance to the family and help their parents in various walks of life. When they attend schools, the parents are deprived of the help and assistance received from them. The parents, thus, do not like to encourage their children to attend schools at the cost of economic benefit.

The percentage of literacy among the Lanjia Saora, as already mentioned, is very low, and they even do not feel the necessity of becoming literate due to their cultural background, poor economic condition and inactive and ineffective motivating agents of education. The facilities for making the Saora adults literate are highly inadequate and the existing adult literacy classes do not function properly due to a number of reasons which have been discussed in detail in chapter eight. The meagre attention paid by the authorities and workers to adult literacy programmes in Saora villages have not been able to induce the Saora to learn reading and writing. Thus the high percentage of illiteracy among the Lanjia Saora still persists.

This then is the background of this study. We proceeded with the broad assumption, based on first hand contacts with the Saora, that the Saora have to face many educational problems. And then, through various research methods, we endeavoured to identify and locate these problems, and having identified and located them, have made some suggestions to solve these problems. The present research project does not endeavour to strike a note of finality about any existing problems but is expected to open the door for throwing further light on these and allied problems by other researches in the field. Studies of such nature may certainly add to the rapid educational development of the most undeveloped tribal communities.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to identify the problems of education in the Lanjia Saora areas of Orissa, particularly those faced by the Saora students reading in primary schools. The study also makes an attempt to find out the problems faced by the schools, teachers and ins-

pecting staff working in Saora areas. The objectives also include offering suggestions and recommendations on the basis of problems identified. The causes of illiteracy among the Lanjia Saora have also been studied and suggestions for its eradication are given. The present study also gives a brief account of the life and culture of the Lanjia Saora living in the area of study. The different aspects of the ethnographic account of the tribe, such as historical background, ecology and village, economy, material culture, social organization, political systems, religion etc. have been dealt with under separate headings so as to help understand the Saora and their problems better. No problem of these people could be understood better unless viewed in the context of their total culture. As very few people from outside Orissa have visited Saora areas, it is further necessary to introduce them first to the lifeways and thoughtways of the people and then present the problems before them. The different educational programmes in Orissa in general, and in Saora areas in particular, have been dealt with in a separate chapter. These include types of schools and their strength, strength of teachers, staffing pattern and the functioning of various agencies like the government, missions, voluntary organizations etc. running schools in Saora areas. The educational problems of the Saora have been identified keeping also in view the existing educational programmes.

The present study tries to identify the educational problems of the Lanjia Saora under five major dimensions:

(1) Educational administration.

(2) Medium of instruction and mother-tongue.

(3) Wastage and failure.

(4) Social and economic problems affecting education.

(5) Causes of adult illiteracy.

Area of Study

The present study was confined to the identification of educational problems of, and causes of illiteracy among, the Lanjia Saora of Orissa. The main concentration of this tribe is in Parlakhimedi sub-division of Ganjam district and Gunupur block of Koraput district. These two sub-division and block form a contiguous and compact area. In Parlakhimedi sub-division three blocks namely, Gumma, Rayagada and Nuagada were selected as in these blocks the Saora are heavily concentrated. Gunupur block of Koraput district was also selected for study on the same basis. In order to have a comparative study of the educational problems of the Lanjia Saora and of the neighbouring non-tribal people, Puri district and its two blocks namely, Gop and Khandpara were also selected for the study.

Methodology

A. SAMPLING

The sampling of tribe, district and blocks was purposive, while that of villages and respondents random.

(i) *Tribe* : The Saora are one of the most under-developed tribes of India. They live in isolated hills and very little has been done for them educationally or otherwise. The percentage of literacy among them is very low, that is, only 7.7 per cent. The Saora have many sub-tribes. The Hill Saora, that is, the Lanjia Saora, have the lowest percentage of literacy and are the least developed among them. Thus, of the many sections of the Saora the Lanjia Saora were selected.

(ii) *State* : The Saora have a total population of 4,32,225 in India out of which Orissa alone has a population of 3,11,614, that is, 72 per cent of the total Saora population. So Orissa, the state having the highest population of the Saora, was selected for study.

(iii) *Districts* The highest population of the Saora is in the districts of Ganjam (95,128, that is, 35.27 per cent of the total population of the Saora of Orissa) and Koraput (36,329, that is, 11.65 per cent of the total population of the Saora of Orissa). As the study was conducted among the Lanjia Saora and since most of them were in these two districts, the latter were selected for study. Puri district which has a mixed non-tribal and tribal population was selected for the purpose of making a comparative study of the educational problems of the Lanjia Saora and their non-tribal neighbours. Puri district has also got the lowest tribal population in the State. Thus, the respondents from Puri were mostly non-tribal.

(iv) *Blocks* : The majority of the Saora of Ganjam district are concentrated in the blocks of Gumma (30,107, that is, 31.64 per cent of the total Saora population of Ganjam), Rayagada (35,960, that is, 37.86 per cent of the total Saora population of Ganjam) and Nuagada (14,184, that is, 14.91 per cent of the total Saora population of Ganjam). Similarly, most of the Saora population of Koraput is in Gunupur block where the Lanjia Saora alone are about 15,000, that is, 41.28 per cent of the total Saora population of Koraput. The two blocks namely, Gop and Khandpara were selected because Gop has entirely non-tribal population while Khandpara has a mixed non-tribal and tribal population including the Saora. Thus, in all, four blocks from Lanjia Saora area and two blocks from non-tribal area were selected.

(v) *Villages/Schools* : 36 per cent of the total number of villages having lower primary, upper primary or sevashram schools in the above six blocks were selected randomly. Since four blocks were taken from Saora area and two from non-tribal area, and as weightage had to be

given to selection of schools in Saora area because the main study was on the Saora, the number of schools selected in the two areas, that is, Saora and non-Saora, was in the ratio of 2:1. Thus 67 villages having schools out of 108 such villages, that is, 62 per cent of the total number ofvillages having schools, were selected from Saora area, and 33 villages having such schools out of 169 such villages, that is, 19 per cent of the total number of such villages selected were from non-tribal area. In all, 100 villages having schools out of 277, that is, 36 per cent of such villages were sampled out for detailed study. The following table gives the block-wise break-up of the sample schools.

Table I. 1. Blockwise break-up of the sample schools

Blocks	*No. of schools*			*Total*
	L. P.	*U. P.*	*Sevashram*	
Gumma	22	3	3	28
Rayagada	6	—	2	8
Nuagada	20	1	1	22
Gunupur	7	—	2	9
Gop	14	8	—	22
Khandpara	6	4	1	11
Total	75	16	9	100

(vi) *Respondents* The following four categories of respondents were interviewed for this study.

(a) Students Four students from each lower primary and sevashram school up to L. P. standard and six students from each upper primary and sevashram school up to U. P. standard were selected on a random sample basis. Names of the stndents were written and then divided into four and six blocks respectively and the first student from each block was selected and interviewed.

(b) Parents/Villagers The *gomang*, *bhuiya* and the ward member are the spokesmen of the village. In most cases they were also the chairmen of the school committees and hence they were selected and interviewed.

(c) Teachers Teachers incharge of all the village schools selected for study were interviewed. Except in the case of one-teacher schools where the lone teacher had necessarily to be selected, in other schools where more than one teacher were working, the headmasters were selected.

(d) Officers : The officers connected with the education of the Saora at district, sub-division and block levels were also interviewed and schedules specially prepared for them were administered. The table

given below gives a complete picture of the various categories of respondents selected.

Table I. 2. Categories of respondents

District/ sub-division/ block headquarters	*No. of respondents*[3]				*Total*
	Officers	*Teachers*	*Parents*	*Students*	
Berhampur	1	—	—	—	1
Parlakhimedi	2	—	—	—	2
Gumma	1	28	27	83	139
Rayagada	2	7	8	16	33
Nuagada	2	18	18	55	93
Gunupur	3	8	9	38	58
Gop	1	22	22	104	149
Khandpara	2	11	11	52	76
Total	14	94	95	348	551

B. DATA COLLECTED

Keeping in view the main objectives of the study the following basic data were collected during the course of the study.

(1) Enrolment and other relevant figures at district, block and village school levels for both Saora and non-tribal students for the last three years.

(2) Number of Saora and non-tribal students who appeared at the annual examinations for the last three years, number passed and failed etc.

(3) Attendance of students in both the cases.

(4) Wastage of both Saora and non-tribal students including drop out etc.

(5) Financial assistance given by government.

(6) Number of teachers, their qualifications and experiences, and teacher-student ratio.

(7) Number of students in Saora area and utilization of seats.

(8) Collection of information on general economic condition of the Saora.

(9) Contribution by children and extent of deprivation to the family when they attended schools.

(10) Attitude of parents towards education and sending their children to schools.

(11) Engagements of villagers during different seasons.

(12) Occupation of the Saora, earning members in the family, and their occupations.

(13) Facilities provided for promotion of education in the villages and the agencies providing them.

(14) Adult literacy centres or any other educational programme in the villages—their functioning and attendance etc.

(15) Literate persons in the Saora families particularly in the previous generations.

(16) Persons visiting the viilages and motivating the villagers for education, frequency of visits and impact upon the villagers.

(17) The role of headmen of the villages and other influential persons in motivating the Saora for education.

(18) Ethnographic data related to different aspects of Saora culture and way of life.

C. TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES

To identify the educational problems of the Saora and collect material for ethnographic note on them, the following tools and techniques were adopted.

(1) Questionnaires and schedules : Questionnaires were administered separately to the officers and teachers working in both Saora and non-tribal areas. Separate schedules for interviewing the parents and students for the two different areas were also used.

(2) Interview : Both individual and group interviews were conducted. The officers, teachers, parents and students of the two areas were interviewed. Ethnographic material was mainly collected through this method.

(3) Observation Both participant and non-participant observations were made.

(4) Study of relevant records at the state, district, block, village and school levels was made to have the necessary statistical data.

D. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The data obtained in the field of study from different categories of respondents were analysed separately. The responses given by the respondents were classified and presented in the form of tables. Some important tables and only the analysis of other ones have been given in this report.

Limitations

The study was conducted in the Saora area with some difficulties and under various limitations.

One of the most serious handicaps in conducting the study was the unavailability of statistical data. It was found that the relevant records

at state, district and block levels were not available readily and at one place. Hence we had to take one information from one place and the other from another place. At times we had to sit for days together in different offices and compile the required information ourselves from various sources. In most of the schools in the Lanjia Saora area records were not maintained properly. Comparable data from all the schools selected for study were needed, but it was difficult to get all the required information from all of them. If the admission register was available, the promotion register was not, and so on. In some of the registers also there were several discrepancies which had to be reconciled. All this naturally took time longer than expected.

The language problem had also to be faced. The Saora speak their own dialect. The Pano, the local tradesmen and middlemen, know their dialect as well as Oriya and in some cases we had to take help from them. Wherever a Saora-knowing teacher was available we preferred to depend upon him rather than on a Pano trader.

The visit to the Saora villages was an arduous and strenuous task because these villages were not easily accessible. Secondly, it was time taking. The best part of the day was spent in marching from one village to the other. However, we managed to visit all the villages selected for the study.

Due to the very high percentage of illiteracy among the villages and constant exploitation by the Pano and others we also experienced some difficulty in getting their frank views. The educational level of teachers was so low that in most of the cases we had to record ourselves their responses in the questionnaires meant for them.

As the villagers were always working in their cultivation fields during the day time, we had either to meet them there itself or interview them in the village at night when they were free. In some of the schools the teachers were not available and sometimes we did not see the students in the classes. Thus these local difficulties also put us to some inconveniences.

However, in spite of all these limitations and difficulties, we were able to complete our work satisfactorily and feel pleasure in putting forward the report of the research project. We now turn to a detailed discussion of the subject under investigation, beginning with a brief ethnographic account of the Lanjia Saora.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE LANJIA SAORA

THE word Saora has been spelt in many ways, like Savara, Sawra, Saura, Sobor and so on. Ramamurti has used the word 'Sora' in his English—Sora Dictionary, 1933. Some of the earlier work, for instance, by Yeatts and Fawcett have used the spelling Saora.[1] 'The common spelling of this name,' Yeatts says,' is "Savara". This "V" is a Telugu intrusion. One of the marked characterstics of that language is to dislike the juxtaposition of two vowels. If it were written... "Sawara", a closer approximation to the real pronunciation would be obtained and the form thereby made less objectionable. Rao Sahib Ramamurty considers the true rendering to be "Sora". This, though possibly technically accurate, departs rather from the ordinary sound of the word. The form now given, "Saora", is probably as close as ordinary transliteration can get to the name which the tribe give to themselves and to their language.'[2] The word 'Saora' has been adopted in this report as this sounds very similar to the word pronounced by the Saora themselves.

The tribe is divided into several sub-divisions. The bases for these sub-divisions are occupational and cultural differentials. The main sub-divisions are: '(1) Lamba Lanjia, (2) Jadu, (3) Mane, (4) Raika, (5) Sarda, (6) Kindal, (7) Arsi, (8) Juari, (9) Kancher, (10) Kurumba, (11) Sudha, (12) Jati, (13) Jara and (14) Kampo.'[3]

The word 'Lanjia' has a special significance. This word has been given to a particular section of the Saora because of the characterstic way of putting on by men the loin cloth an end of which hangs like *lango*—a tail. The word 'Lamba' means long. As the long end of the loin cloth hangs down, the users of this type of loin cloth are called 'Lamba Lanjia Saora', meaning thereby 'long-tailed Saora.'

The Lamba Lanjia Saora are shifting cultivators. The Kindal or Tankla Saora are basket makers and the Kumbit Saora are potters. The Kampo Saora are Telugu speaking people. The Suddha and Jati Saora claim themselves more civilized than other sections of the Saora and speak Oriya. Besides these, the Gantaras and Luaras having a small population work in bell-metal and brass, and blacksmithy respectively. The Bhima Saora living near Jirang area of Ganjam Agency trace their

association with Bhima, one of the Pandavas, and worship Hindu gods. The Lanjia Saora are also called 'Hill Saora'. They are less developed as compared to the other sections of the Saora.

Historical Background

The Saora live in the most interior parts of Orissa and have their dwellings in thick forests. They are reported to be the earliest settlers of this region. In some of the ancient Sanskrit literatures also references of the Saora are found. 'In the *Aitareya Brahmana*, we find them classed with such Dasyu tribes as the Andhras, Pulindas, Pundras and Mutibas, and living as outcastes on the fringe of the Aryan settlements. This places the Saoras in trans-vindhyan India about 800 B.C.

'The *Aitareya Brahmana* describes the Saoras as the descendants of the elder sons of Visvamitra, who were cursed by their father for an act of disobedience, and this epitomizes the general attitude of the Hindu classical writers towards the "aboriginals".'[4]

The origin of the Saora is traced in the Mahabharat to Nandini, the cow of Vasishtha. Viswamitra, King of Kanyakubja, desired to have the cow. When he failed in his efforts to take possession of the cow by paying a very high price for her, he tried to take her forcibly. But the cow protected herself by producing many people from the various parts of her body. The Saora came out from her dung. In the Ramayana also, there is a reference of Savari, a Saora woman, whom Rama and Lakhman met while moving about in the Dandaka forests in search of Sita. Russel and Hira Lal trace the origin of the Saora 'to the celebrated Seori (Savari) of the Ramayana who is supposed to have lived somewhere near the present Seori-Narayan in the Bilaspur district and to have given her name to this place. Ramachandra in his wanderings met her, ate the plums which she had gathered for him after tasting each one herself, and out of regard for her devotion permitted her name to precede his own of Narayan in that given to the locality.'[5]

These accounts of the origin of the Saora and their history do not enable us to have a clear understanding of the ancient Saora. However, they make it clear that the Saora are one of the most ancient settlers of this area. However, '... they do enable us to assert that at one time they were distributed right across middle and eastern India, and that at least during the period 800 B.C. to A.D. 1200 they were the dominant race of aboriginals.'[6] But the fact remains that for centuries they lived in the isolation of hills and forests of this region and no proper attention was paid either during the pre-British or the British period for the development of these people. After Independence efforts have been and are being made for the welfare of this isolated tribe.

Ecology and Village

The name 'Hill Saora' itself indicates that the Saora live on hills. The Lanjia Saora are mostly dispersed in the Parlakhimedi sub-division of Ganjam district and Puttasingi area of Gunupur sub-division of Koraput district which fall under the agency area. The whole area is an intricate labyrinth of precipitous hills and valleys which are part of the Eastern Ghats—the height of the hills varying from 2,000 to 4,000 feet above sea level.

The land of the Lanjia Saora is full of small streams and rivulets which come out from the water-parting on the hill tops and flow towards the valleys. They are seasonal in character and dry up during the summer though some of them do provide water to the Saora throughout the year.

The Saora villages are generally situated on the slopes of hills and also on the foot hill zones not far off from the hilly streams. Some of the villages are also on hill tops. A Lanjia Saora village can be easily identified by the arrangement of houses in long rows. Another important feature of the villages is the construction of the *mandua*—small platform where the members of the family worship their family deities—right in the middle of the streets. The houses are built in straight rows on both sides of the street.

Near the village are the abodes of the deities like *dangoduram* and *galbeboy*, who protect the villagers from epidemic and smallpox. These are also places for the earth goddess and shrines to worship their ancestors. On the outskirt of the village the cremation grounds and clusters of menhirs are situated. Adjacent to the village there are little kitchen gardens where they grow ginger, turmeric, tobacco, maize and other vegetables. Very near to the village are found a few threshing grounds.

The Lanjia Saora villages are not big in size. Some of the villages have been deserted due to some epidemic or fire, some are of only two to four houses. The bigger villages have from 80 to 100 houses. A village, on an average, consists of 20 to 30 houses.

As the Lanjia Saora settlements are permanent in nature, the houses are strongly built with stone and mud. The roofs are thatched and the walls are plastered with mud. The verandahs are ordinarily two to five feet above the ground, are narrow, plastered with mud and painted vermilion. Sometimes two platforms are built on both sides of the verandah. The Saora houses have no provision for ventilation and window. The house of the headman of the village is generally fairly big in size with strong doors and walls having many rooms, and, sometimes, a courtyard and a garden.

Economy

The main source of livelihood of the Saora is agriculture. Their cultivation is mainly of three types: (i) Shifting or *podu* cultivation, (ii) Terrace cultivation, and (iii) Kitchen gardens.

(i) *Shifting cultivation*: Most of the Saora resort to shifting cultivation in which they remain engaged for the best part of the year. For *podu* cultivation a number of hillocks are selected and the plots in them are distributed among the villagers. Before starting work on the hillocks selected they offer sacrifices of fowl and pig to *labosum* and other gods and spirits.

Much of the work in the shifting cultivation fields is done by women. Men only help them. If there is a solitary member in a family he or she is helped by the villagers.. In cutting the trees, sowing and in other agricultural operations villagers help each other.

Podu cultivation is not only a source of their livelihood but also a part of their life and culture. Most of the offerings and sacrifices are connected with it. It is an undisputed fact that this practice is the main cause of deforestation, soil erosion and decreasing fertility of the land, but the fact remains that this is the only source of providing livelihood to the tribe without which it cannot survive.

(ii) *Terrace cultivation*: The Saora are good in terracing the fields. Wherever they find a gentle slope on the hill sides they terrace it. The length and breadth of the fields prepared by terracing are very small and largely depend upon the slope of the hill. In terrace fields two crops are grown: winter paddy and summer paddy. For this type of cultivation, ploughing is done generally by men but is not a taboo for women. Such fields are mostly owned by the *gomang* and other prominent and wealthy persons of the village. In the terrace fields the Saora also use some manure.

(iii) *Kitchen gardens*: Almost all the Saora villages have some such gardens. They are all well-fenced and protected. In these gardens they grow ginger, turmeric, green vegetable, tobacco, banana and the like. There is no well in, or any other irrigation facility for, these gardens. In some of the Saora villages, cash crops like orange and lemon are also grown.

Besides doing these three types of cultivation, the Saora also collect a number of forest produce, *mahua* flower being one of them. It is not only eaten but also used for preparing wine. Tamarind is also an important forest produce. They also collect several types of roots and tubers from the forest. Sago trees are also found in abundance and the pith is used for preparing bread. Wine is also prepared out of its juice.

Hunting and fishing also supplement their food supply.

Besides their work in the *podu* and terrace fields and forests, a few of them go to the tea gardens in Assam to work as labourers. Some of the Lanjia Saora also work in the construction of roads and other developmental schemes taken up by the government.

The Lanjia Saora collect fuel and sell it in the market. At Parlakhimedi a number of Saora can be seen selling fuel. The paddy grown in the terrace cultivation is generally sold for obtaining cash in order to meet other requirements.

One may be surprised to see the exploitation of the Saora by the local Dom and Kumti, the petty merchants. The exploitation is by various ways. In weighing the articles brought by the Saora for sale in the weekly market, the traders take much more than they should; and the price paid for their goods is much less than that prevailing in the open market. The Saora are at times obliged to sell to them and accept whatever price is given to them. It has been observed that sometimes force is also used and they are humiliated in such a way that they cannot go to any other person. While making purchases in the market, they are also cheated in various ways.

In the village Saora exchange their goods among themselves. But the Doms and Kumtis do not leave the Saora in peace. Early in the morning they go to Saora villages with salt, tobacco, dried fish and other commodities and exchange them with grain, forest produce or any other thing the Saora may have to offer. The Dom and Kumti can be seen exploiting the Saora even in the most inaccessible areas. The Saora are obliged to these people because they supply them the articles of their daily use even on credit. The exploitation does not end there. The Dom and Kumti advance money to the Saora when they are in need and, in lieu of their money, take away the entire produce of their tamarind, ginger, turmeric, *mahua* flower, orange and other things. It is observed that though the fruit trees belong to the Saora, they have no right to pluck the fruits as they are already mortgaged to the creditors. Their exploitation always keeps them indebted and they are hardly able to improve their economic condition.

The Government of Orissa has taken note of this fact and is starting a pilot project in Gumma area. Many fair price shops have been opened to enable the Saora to purchase their requirements at controlled and cheaper rates. Some sale and purchase depots are also going to be started which may save the Saora from exploitation by the Dom and Kumti. The Department of Tribal and Rural Welfare of the Government of Orissa is making efforts to solve this problem in a satisfactory manner.

Material Culture

The material culture of the Lanjia Saora is very simple. They use

earthen pots for cooking rice, maize, millet and even meat. They also use a big wooden spoon. For bringing water and for other purposes earthen, brass, aluminium and gourd containers are used. For drinking purpose a drinking tube made of scooped-out gourd is used. The earthen pots are also used for collecting palm-juice. The Saora generally take their meals in leaf cups and banana leaves and, on special occasions, in aluminium and brass plates.

The Lanjia Saora do not wear much clothes. The traditional dress for women is a piece of white cloth with brown border at the bottom which hardly reaches up to the knee when tied around their waist, the upper half of the body remains uncovered. Men's traditional dress is a piece of loin cloth which is about six feet long and one foot broad with some designs at the end. The yarn for this traditional dress is generally handspun by the Saora themselves and woven by the local Dom. But now, in most of the places, women are found using a piece of black cloth about four to five feet long, purchased from the market. They now use blouses too. Men have also started wearing trousers, shirts and dhoti due to contact with outsiders. Women keep a coarse white piece of cloth with them and cover the upper half of their body when they see any outsider. While dancing, ordinary men wear white turban while the headmen wear coloured ones.

Though the Lanjia Saora are fond of ornaments, they are not good at making them. They wear whatever is locally available. Women use brass or bell-metal hair pins, and brass chains. They also wear bell-metal ear-rings in the upper part and a round piece of wood in the lobes. In the nose, three rings made of bell-metal and brass are worn. Brass or aluminium bracelets and a few rings of brass and bell-metal beautify their wrists and fingers. Most of the women wear girdle of bead chains. They wear anklets of brass or aluminium, and rings in the toes. But the Christian Saora women have discarded these ornaments. Men occasionally use only ear-rings and bead necklaces, especially while dancing.

Their most popular musical instrument is *gagerajan* made of a half coconut shell, a piece of bamboo stem and two strings, and is played with the help of a bow made of bamboo and sago palm fibre. Drums are also used. *Memerajan*, another musical instrument, is made of a piece of bamboo stem, two gourds and two strings, and is played with finger. These instruments are played while dancing, and during marriage, worship and funeral ceremonies.

The Saora were once very fond of hunting but due to gradual deforestation, the game in the forest is on the decline. Bow and arrow are their traditional hunting implements which are used not only for hunting but have also some cultural values and are used on the occasions of marriages and festivals. Bows are simple, made of bamboo with

bamboo strings. The Lanjia Saora are very fond of guns and possess a number of locally made muzzle-loading guns, more as symbols of prestige than weapons of any practical utility.

For agricultural work, the Saora have very simple implements. In shifting cultivation they use a digging stick which has a curved iron blade on one side and an axe-like blade on the other. Another important implement is sickle, for harvesting. Axe is also used. In the permanent cultivation fields, they use small wooden ploughs and sickles.

Social Organization

'The most remarkable thing about the organization of Saora society is its lack of organization.'[7] There is not much rigidity in the social customs of the Saora.

Marriage : The initiative for marriage is taken by the boy's parents. They go to the girl's house along with 5 to 10 relatives, and, if possible, with *kudang*—the village priest—to see the girl and negotiate marriage. They carry with them an arrow, wine and brass bangles. If the girl's parents approve of the proposal they accept the presents. Such visits and return of visits are repeated for a few months which provide opportunities to both the parties for understanding each other better, and during these visits the bride-wealth is decided and paid. The traditional way of paying it is in kind, that is, cows, buffaloes, cloth etc., but now with the introduction of money economy, it is paid in cash. On an auspicious day the boy, with a small party of friends and relatives, goes to the girl's house for marriage taking nine pots of wine with him. The party is entertained by the girl's parents. No religious rites are observed. The groom brings the bride with him and the marriage is over.

While negotiating marriage one always gives due consideration to the family status. A *gomang's* daughter has necessarily to marry another *gomang's* son. The tribe is an endogamous and the *birinda* an exogamous unit for the purpose of marriage. A *birinda* is a group of a few families members of which are the descendants of a common ancestor. The structure and function of a *birinda* are analogous to those of a clan. The most striking departure from the practice of clan exogamy, as followed by other tribes, is that a girl after her marriage does not adopt the *birinda* of her husband but retains that of her father.

Levirate and sororate are the common forms of preferential marriages. Polygyny is widely practised. This practice determines not only their social status in the village but also affects their economic life. Men having many wives are generally more wealthy as they have more working hands and thus are able to produce more.

Divorce : Divorce is also simple and common. If a woman wishes to divorce her husband, she simply leaves him and goes to live with some

other man. In this case the husband is entitled to a compensation by her new husband. A man divorces his wife if she does not work properly or is unfaithful.

Family : A Saora family is generally nuclear in character consisting of the man, his wife or wives and unmarried children. Extended families in which two or three brothers with their families live together are also found but only rarely. A son is expected to have a separate family and house after his marriage.

Division of Labour : The division of labour among the Lanjia Saora is distinct. Women have to do all sorts of work in both shifting and permanent cultivation fields. They cut the bushes and trees, burn them, sow seeds, weed and harvest and look after the household. Men also work in the field and sit the babies at home. They also do other arduous jobs which the women cannot. The children have also to work hard specially in grazing the cattle, baby-sitting and helping their parents in other domestic and agricultural work.

Political System

Among most of the tribal communities in central and eastern India we find the institutions of either headmen or chiefs. Among the Lanjia Saora also there are headmen who are the aristrocrats of the Saora community; the others are raiyats. *Gomang* and *bhuiya* are the wealthiest persons in the village and their political status is recognized by the administration. *Gomang* is the secular head of the village, its spokesman and the most powerful person in the political set up of the village. *Ḍal-behra*, *mandal* and *bad-raiyat* assist the *gomang*. *Bhuiya* is the religious head. He holds an equally important office in the village.

A dispute in the village is settled by the *gomang* and other important persons like *bad-raiyat*, *karil*, *dal-behra* and *mandal*. In disputes affecting land and property, the *gomang's* opinion carries more weight, but in marital disputes, it is the opinion of the *bhuiya* that influences the opinions of other village elders. All these offices are hereditary.

The inter- and intra-village relationships and maintenance of law and order are the responsibility of the headman of the village. The prosperity, welfare and well-being of the village by pleasing the gods are taken care of by the *bhuiya* and *kudang*.

In almost every village a man called *barik* is found. He is generally a Dom by caste. He is paid in kind by the Saora and does the work assigned by the villagers, specially the *gomang* and other important persons. Whenever a visitor or a government official comes to the village, the headman of the village directs the *barik* to look after the comfort of the visitor. If the Saora desire to hold a meeting or organize a dance or

want to make any announcement, *barik* has to go from door to door and call the people.

The *bissoyi* represents one of the most important political institutions of the Saora. He is the head of a *mutta* which consists of many villages. He is generally a non-tribal and wealthy man. There are many such *bissoyi* spread over the entire Saora area. During British days they were appointed as feudal overlords, were responsible for maintaining law and order and were empowered to collect taxes. They have been very arrogant and ruthless people and a constant source of exploitation and the consequent impoverishment of the Saora. They have also succeeded in generating hatred in many Saora hearts, and the Saora have, on many occasions, risen in revolt against them. Elwin summarizes the entire structure and function of the institution of the *bissoyi* when he says that, 'The Bissoyis and Patros have been described as "wardens of the marches anciently established in a species of feudal tenure" and their forts were placed in the hills or immediately below them to command the passes leading down to the plains. At that time there was good reason for their existence, for the Saoras and Kondhs made frequent raids on the towns and villages of the low country, and the Bissoyis and Patros with their small armies of "Home guards" called Paiks and Pessaniyas undoubtedly contributed to the establishment of law and order in what was then a very wild region. There is no reason whatever why these arrangements should have continued to modern times.'[8] He found this institution of the *bissoyi* undesirable even during the early fifties, but it still persists even now, in the seventies.

Religion

It is necessary to have some knowledge of the Saora religion because their whole way of life revolves round it. A number of supernatural beings pervade the life of the Saora and guide their activities. They all have a distinct role to play, exercise their influence over the living beings, and demand respect and sacrifices from them.

The religion of the Lanjia Saora consists of a body of belief in innumerable malevolent and benevolent spirits and deified ancestors who are always watchful of the activities and doings of the living beings, and give reward and punishment according to their doings.

The Saora religion is polytheistic with a number of gods and spirits responsible for the weal and woe of the Saora. Any negligence on the part of the Saora in their efforts at propitiating them or offering them sacrifices is likely to invite trouble for the village. The ancestors are also to be worshipped and pleased.

Bhuiya is the religious head of the village. He is also the head of the *bhuiya sahi*—a hamlet of the village where only *bhuiya* families live—

and makes sacrifies and performs all other religious ceremonies on behalf of the village.

The most important religious figure among the Saora is the shaman known as *kuranmaran*, *kuran* or *kudang*. He offers sacrifices, worships the gods and spirits, finds out the cause of disease and cures the same. He divines the cause of anger of a particular deity and prescribes ways and means of appeasing him. He is the link between men and gods. He acts as a physician, a priest and a magician. People feel that he has considerable knowledge, skill and blessings of a particular deity which others do not possess. The shamans are not hereditary and every shaman has a tutelary spirit in the Underworld who marries him, comes to him whenever he desires, and solves his problems and guides him in performing his religious duties. After his marriage with the tutelary spirit he comes in contact with the gods. After his death too, he is nicely received in the Underworld.

Besides performing various rites and rituals on the occasions of agricultural operations, the Saora also perform a number of death rites. They cremate their dead except the bodies of those dying of smallpox or cholera. Cremation is the affair of the family and the *idaiboi*—a girl specially trained in performing the various death rites—is called upon to render assistance. The funeral procession is taken out with beatings of gongs and drums. Next day the family members go to the cremation ground to find in the ash, with the help of imprints, the cause of death. If they fail in their effort, the *kudang* is called to find the same out. A fowl is then sacrificed and cooked with rice in the cremation ground and every mourner eats it. Only after the *guar* rite—a death rite observed a few weeks or months or even a year after the death—is performed the soul of the deceased is admitted to the Underworld and thus becomes a deified ancestor. In his memory a menhir is erected. This rite is sometimes combined with the *karja* rite when sacrifices for all the dead ancestors are made. Ancestor worship is an expensive affair as the Saora have to offer sacrifices of buffaloes. For a Saora worshipping his ancestors is a must, failing which he is sure to invite their wrath.

Both Hinduism and Christianity have made sufficient impact on the life of the Saora. They respect Hinduism because they say that most of their gods are from Hindu pantheon and they bestow their blessings to the people. The non-converted Saora feel pride and pleasure in calling themselves Hindu. This notion is mostly found among the Saora who have come in contact with the Oriya people. They possess adequate knowledge about Bhima, Rama, Jagannath and other Hindu gods.

Christianity has also its share of influence among the Saora and a good number of Saora in the villages near Gumma, Serango, Khijuripada and Nuagada have been converted. The main reason for the

rapid conversion of the Saora, it is reported, is that by becoming Christian they can avoid sacrificing buffaloes and other animals and thus improve their economic condition. On the other hand, it is reported by the non-converted Saora in the remote villages that the converted Saora cannot be happy because they are no longer entitled to the blessings of their gods and spirits.

Traditional System of Education

Most of the tribes of India have youth dormitories which impart a sort of informal education to them in the secondary stage of socialization. In the primary stage of socialization this responsibility is borne by the family. Under the aegis of this institution children and youngmen learn the arts and crafts, behaviour, manners and customs, and acquire other capabilities which are required of them when they become full and participant members of their society.

The Lanjia Saora, however, have no such institution which may help the children to understand their tradition and culture. The main training grounds for them are their families and village. The children are allowed to go anywhere their parents go. They help them in all sorts of work. They dance with them, eat and drink with them and attend all socio-religious functions with them. Children thus learn every thing by imitating their parents.

This then is an encapsulated life sketch of the Saora. In the preceding pages we have tried to give, though briefly, a complete picture of the life of the Saora. The problems that will be discussed in the chapters that follow should be seen in the light of their cultural background. We now turn to the discussion of the educational problems of the Saora beginning with the general educational pattern in Orissa, particularly in the Saora area.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EXISTING PATTERN OF EDUCATION IN ORISSA

Educational Administration at Different Levels

Prior to 1912 Orissa was a part of Bengal. In 1912 Bihar and Orissa were separated from Bengal, and in 1936, Orissa having been separated from Bihar, was formed into a separate State. As it was a State with areas carved out of Bengal, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Madras, the educational system was not uniform all over the State. In south Orissa, that is, Ganjam and Koraput districts, the educational pattern of Madras was followed, while in north Orissa the practices followed in Bihar were very much in evidence. Even now some forms and rules and regulations are followed on these lines. In 1936 after the inception of the new State of Orissa, the first Director of Public Instruction was appointed. The old pattern created in 1923 continued for some time but, later on, the District Education Officer, Ganjam, was redesignated as Inspector of Schools. Similarly, till 1936, Koraput was under the Inspectorate of Vizagapatam, but, later on, both Ganjam and Koraput districts which were carved out of Madras were brought under one Inspector of Schools. Thus in 1936 the Director of Public Instruction had only two Inspectors of Schools; one for north Orissa and the other for south Orissa, and had to manage without even a Deputy Director of Public Instruction.

Now, the Ministry of Education in the State is responsible for making an overall policy of education. The Minister of Education is assisted by the Secretary, a senior I.C.S. or I.A.S. officer. Under the Secretary there is a Deputy Secretary who is assisted by a Special Officer-*cum*-Under Secretary and an Assistant Secretary. The plans and proposals prepared by the Director of Public Instruction are submitted to the Minister for approval after the same have been examined by the Secretariat staff. After they have been approved the Director of Public Instruction has to act on them. The other important work of the Secretariat is to consider the financial implications of the plans and proposals and prepare the budget in consultation with the Department of Finance and get them approved by the Legislative Assembly.

The Director of Public Instruction is responsible for the operation,

administration and implementation of the educational programmes of the State.

The Director of Public Instruction is assisted by a Joint Director, four Deputy Directors including one for adult education and another for women's education, two Assistant Directors and several other officers, like Publicity Officer, Inspectors of Schools, Principals of Government Colleges, Assistant Statistician, Chief Inspector of Physical Training, and Superintendent of Research etc. He is the president of the Board of Secondary Education, adviser to the government, and controller of administration of, and grants to, the aided colleges.

Orissa has thirteen districts which are grouped into five circles for proper supervision and efficient administration of educational institutions. An Inspector of Schools, who is in charge of a circle, can inspect the work of the District Inspectors of Schools and all schools under his circle. He is also responsible for the administration of, and grants to, all recognized schools. He may recommend for the appointment and punishment of teachers and look after the discipline in the institutions under his circle.

At the district level, there is a District Inspector of Schools, who can inspect the middle and elementary training schools, and supervise the work of Sub-Inspectors of Schools at the block level. He is assisted by Deputy Inspectors of Schools at the sub-divisional level who are also empowered to inspect middle schools.

At the block level Sub-Inspectors of Schools are posted who inspect primary schools only. Besides this hierarchy in the educational administrative set up, there are a few other officers like the Organizer, Basic Education; Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies etc. who look after their respective fields of education.

With the introduction of Panchayati Raj in Orissa, primary education has been handed over to the panchayats. This has led to some changes at almost all levels of educational administration. The responsibility of success or failure of any particular scheme or programme of education now rests with the panchayats.

In the Panchayati Raj set up the Zila Parishad is responsible for planning the educational schemes of the district. The appointment and transfer of primary school teachers are also done by it. The District Inspector of Schools is its adviser and the executor of the schemes formulated by it. The upgrading of a lower primary school to upper primary standard and of an upper primary school to middle standard are also done by the Zila Parishad on the recommendation of the Block Panchayat Samiti and the District Inspector of Schools. It also allots funds under different heads of education and passes on to the Panchayat Samiti at the block level.

The Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti looks after all the affairs of primary education in the block. This Panchayat Samiti is the miniature form of the Zila Parishad having similar powers and field of operation within the Panchayat Samiti (The boundaries of a Panchayat Samiti are coterminous with those of the Block). The Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti is empowered to transfer a teacher within the Samiti area on the recommendation of the Sub-Inspector of Schools. He can recommend to the Zila Parishad promotion of, and disciplinary action against, a primary school teacher. The Sub-Inspector of Schools inspects primary schools and submits his reports to the Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti. The Block Development Officer can also inspect the schools but the actions are taken by the Chairman. The funds for the construction and repair of school buildings are allocated in the meeting of the Panchayat Samiti in which the Chairman is the President and the Block Development Officer the Secretary. If more fund than available is required a resolution to this effect is passed and sent to the Zila Parishad.

At the village level, the management of the schools is entrusted to a committee with some of the important persons of the village as its members. This committee is supposed to meet every month and chalk out programmes for the welfare and proper functioning of schools. The local school teacher gets his salary on the basis of a certificate issued by the Chairman of the School Committee to the effect that he had worked satisfactorily and the school was properly functioning during the month. Casual leave to the teacher is also granted by the chairman of this committee. For any expenditure, the approval of the School Committee is required.

Besides all these functions and responsibilities, the Zila Parishad, Panchayat Samiti and School Committee are also responsible for ensuring the maximum participation and involvement of the local people in the educational programmes. The Panchayat Samiti has to ensure peoples' contribution towards construction of the school building and to take appropriate steps to increase the number of school-going children. The School Committee also is to pay attention to the greater participation of villagers in the educational programmes by persuading them to send their children to school and help the school in the construction of its building, repair and such other aspects.

Besides the general provisions made for the spread of education all over the State, special attention has been paid to educate the tribal children as provided in Article 45 of the Constitution. There is a separate department known as the Department of Tribal and Rural Welfare under a Cabinet Minister to look after the development of the scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, and other backward classes. At the Secretariat level there are such officers as a Secretary, a Joint Secretary, a Financial Ad-

viser-*cum*-Deputy Secretary, an Under Secretary, and another Under Secretary-*cum*-Assistant Financial Adviser, who are also to look after other departments like labour, health, forest and co-operation. There is also a Special Officer incharge of the Educational Improvement Schemes and pre-matric and post-matric scholarships.

For organization and superintendence, this department is headed by the Director, Tribal and Rural Welfare, who also functions as *ex-officio* Deputy or Joint Secretary to the Goverment according to his seniority in the I. A. S. cadre. He is assisted by a Deputy Director, a Special Officer for Tribal Development Programmes who is also responsible for promoting the welfare of the most backward tribes, a Lady Welfare Officer who looks after the programme of education among the tribal women, an Assistant Director, Headquarters, and a Junior Statistician who maintains statistics relating to population and all other development programmes and progress.

At the head of the field staff there is the District Welfare Officer who looks after the work of tribal education and welfare. He is assisted by Assistant District Welfare Officers who are posted in every subdivision. At the block level there are Rural Welfare Inspectors, and at the Panchayat level Social Workers. During the National Emergency the work of Panchayats was also tagged on to the District Welfare Officer and he was redesignated as District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officer. Similarly at the sub-divisional level the officer was redesignated as Assistant District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officer. But now the two different assignments have again been separated. At the block level the Rural Welfare Inspectors have been redesignated as Tribal and Rural Welfare Extension Officers who have also two grades—Senior and Junior. The Senior Extension Officers are posted in Tribal Development Blocks. Supervision of the work of the field staff in the Division is done by the Divisional Commissioner assisted by a Deputy Director, drawn from the Orissa Administrative Service.

The Tribal and Rural Welfare Department is engaged in multi-dimensional development programmes for the scheduled tribes, scheduled castes and other backward classes—education being one of the most important programmes. They have opened a number of residential Ashram and Sevashram schools and non-residential Sevashram and Chatsalis to spread education among the tribes. The inspection of these schools is also done by the officers of this department. The general educational facilities provided to the students living in the non-tribal area are also made available to the students living in tribal area. Besides, the latter are also covered under the intensive programmes of their educational development launched by the Department of Tribal and Rural Welfare.

Types of Schools

Besides the general pattern of education and types of schools, such as higher secondary, middle, upper primary and lower primary schools functioning in Orrisa, as in other States, there are some special programmes of education including some special types of schools for the tribes run by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department.

Ashram Schools. These are run by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department, and are meant primarily for the scheduled tribe students. Such schools have been opened in the Lanjia Saora area also.

The Ashram school is a residential school where the tribal boys are to live and prosecute their studies. The school has four classes, from IV to VII. In each class a maximum of ·30 residential students can be admitted, and thus the maximum strength of students in an Ashram school is 120. In an Ashram school for the scheduled tribes 10 per cent of the maximum strength of students, that is, 12 (3 per class) students of the scheduled castes may be admitted, and vice versa. Day scholars are also admitted to the school but their number is not to exceed 10 per cent of the total strength. In case many such students are available for admission, more day scholars may be admitted by opening additional sections with the prior permission of the government. The headmaster of the school is empowered to take admission of fresh students in the begining of the session. The upper age limit for admission to classes IV and V is 12 years, and to classes VI and VII 14 years. However, this upper age limit is relaxable up to two years for scheduled tribe and scheduled caste students as per provisions contained in Rule 299 of the Education Code.

The management of an Ashram school is entrusted to an Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of the Sub-divisional Officer. The Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti under which the school falls is the Vice-Chairman of this Committee. In the absence of the Chairman the Vice-Chairman presides over its meetings which are to be held every two months and the Sub-divisional Officer is to attend at least 50 per cent of the meetings. The District Welfare Officer is also expected to be present in the meeting but he may also be represented by the Assistant District Welfare Officer with the approval of the Collector. All relevant matters concerning the Ashram school are put up to the Advisory Committee for consideration. The accounts of the school are also placed before this committee by the headmaster and the irregularities, if any, are to be brought to the notice of the Collector.

The District Welfare Officer is to inspect Ashram schools once in a year but is to visit each school every two months, coinciding his visit with the date fixed for the meeting of the Advisory Committee. The Sub-divisional Officer has also to inspect the school, especially its administra-

tive set up, once a year. The Deputy Inspector of Schools is to inspect and give guidance twice a year.

In an Ashram school a student has to learn one of the crafts, like tailoring, weaving, carpentry etc. as per prescribed syllabus. The syllabi for boys and girls are different. The raw materials for craft training are supplied by the school and the finished products are sold. The sale proceeds of the craft sections are credited to the government treasury.

Besides these, an Ashram school is to develop orchards and kitchen gardens and impart training is their development. The Block Development Officer and the Agriculture Extension Officer are also associated with this programme. The Agriculture teacher is to work under the guidance of the local Block Development Officer and the Agriculture Extension Officer so far as the orchard scheme is concerned. The students contribute their labour in the orchards, and are given a share of 15 per cent of the produce.[1] A kitchen garden is also attached to each Ashram school and the students have to work in it. The produce of the garden is sold and the sale proceeds deposited in the government treasury. This was the rule until recently, but perhaps this has now been amended and the students are allowed to partake of the garden produce.[2] In some of the Ashram schools poultry units have also been started where the students learn deep-litter system of poultry keeping, in which a thick layer of saw-dust, paddy chaff or grass is provided which gives the birds a better place to play. It is also hygienic and increases their capacity of laying more eggs. Under this scheme students have to take care of the birds under the supervision of the teacher. They are entitled to the free use of the eggs.

The syllabus and the books in these schools are the same as prescribed by the Education Department. In addition, there is a separate syllabus for teaching craft.

The facilities provided in Ashram schools are more than those provided in middle schools. Besides many other facilities, students in Ashram schools get free board, lodging and dress.

Holidays in these schools coincide with the agricultural operations. Some of the Ashram schools have been upgraded to high schools. In these high schools residential provisions for 20 students in each class has been made. Thus the total strength of residential students may be 80. Out of these 80 seats 8 are reserved for the scheduled caste students. The number of day scholars may be 40, that is, 10 students in each class. All the facilities which are provided in the middle standard Ashram school are extended to the high standard Ashram school also. The teaching of crafts and agricultural practices etc. are combined in the high school stage also and the syllabus and text-books are the same as prescribed by

the Board of Secondary Education. The same pattern is followed in Kanyashram schools which are meant for girls only.

Sevashram Schools. These school have also been opened in the Saora and other tribal areas, and are run by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department. They are also meant for the scheduled caste students. Only a few Sevashram schools are residential.

In a residential Sevashram school which has five classes, from I to V, there may be as many as 100 resident students, that is, 20 students in each class. The number of scheduled caste students may be 20, that is, 20 per cent of the total sanctioned strength. Scheduled tribe, scheduled caste and other students can also be admitted as day scholars whose number in a class may not exceed 10, that is, in all 50 students. No admission or tuition fee is charged from the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students. The pattern of education is the same as in the Ashram school. Like Ashram schools, these schools have also the schemes of orchard and kitchen garden. Other agricultural schemes are also introduced in which the students have to work and receive training from the early childhood. The produce of the kitchen garden and orchard is sold and deposited in the government treasury.[3] There is an Advisory Committee for each Sevashram school and all matters concerning the school are placed before it. The District Welfare Officer and the Welfare Extension Officer of the block under whose jurisdiction the Sevashram school lies have to inspect it at least once in three months. The Sub-Inspector of Schools has to inspect twice a year. All the facilities of board, lodging, books and dress as provided in the Ashram schools are provided in these schools.

Non-residential Sevashram schools have also been opened in many villages. These schools are generally up to class III but some of them have been upgraded up to class V. The admission of students in the Sevashram schools in the beginning of the academic session is done by the Head Pandit of the school. A Sevashram school has a Head Pandit and two assistant teachers who are specially trained for imparting education in Sevashram schools. The maximum age of admission in class I is 6 to 7 years, in class II, 7 to 8 years and in class III, 8 to 9 years. The upper age limit is relaxable up to two years for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students. For a Sevashram school also there is a School Committee. In these schools too, reading and writing materials, dress, midday meal and other facilities are provided free of cost. A kitchen garden is also attached to each of the schools. The teachers are also provided with residential accommodation. The inspection may be done by the District Welfare Officer, Block Development Officer, Welfare Extension Officer and the Sub-Inspector of Schools. Sometimes surprise inspections are also done by the inspecting

staff. The inspecting staff also give guidance while inspecting these schools.

The transfer of teachers of general schools within the block, that is, the Panchayat Samiti, is done by the Chairman of the Samiti after informing the District Welfare Officer, but the teachers working in Sevashram schools can only be transferred from one Sevashram to another Sevashram school. The Zila Parishad can transfer teachers within the district, that is, from one Panchayat Samiti to the other. The salary of the Sevashram school teachers is drawn by the Sub-divisional Officer.

Chatsalis. These are one-teacher schools, having only two classes (I and II), opened by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department. Such schools are opened in the interior tribal villages having 200 to 300 population. The normal strength of students in a Chatsali is about 20. Students in this school are supplied with dress and reading and writing materials. The inspecting officers are the same as in the case of Sevashram schools. A teacher for a Chatsali is appointed by the Sub-divisional Officer, and gets a salary of Rs. 40 per month. He also gets an extra allowance for enrolling students above the normal strength of 20. 'For admission of every student over and above 20, that the teacher will be able to effect in class III of an L.P. or U.P. school he will get a lump sum of Rs. 20 only per student.'[4] The Sub-divisional Officer concerned sanctions this allowance on the recommendation of the Assistant District Welfare Officer of that area.

The syllabus in the Chatsalis is the same as in other primary schools. There is a provision of fund for the construction of school buildings and their repairs.

The educational programmes launched by the Education Department cover both the non-tribal and tribal areas. The educational facilities provided by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department are meant for the scheduled tribe and scheduled caste students and thus, Saora students get the benefit of the facilities provided by both the departments.

Strength of Different Types of Schools

The number of educational institutions has increased over the past few years. In the pre-Independence period there were very few schools. 'The number of arts colleges in the year 1942 was 4, professional college 1, high schools 48 and middle schools 227. The total number of institutions in that year was 8,401. Leaving aside high schools and middle schools the rest of the institutions were primary and special schools.'[5] The position is much better today than it was in 1942. 'Time has changed fast since 1942 and after the First Five-Year Plan, there has

been a rapid expansion in education. The number of colleges in the state has increased to 31, high schools to 943 and primary schools to 17,315. In addition, other varieties of institutions whose number is considerable, have sprung up.'[6]

Information for five years regarding the strength of different types of schools in Orissa, collected from the statistical section of the Directorate of Public Instruction, are given in the table below.

Table III. 1. Strength of schools in Orisssa

Types of schools	*Government*				
	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64
1	2	3	4	5	6
Primary including Junior Basic and Sevashram	4,129	6,872	6,783	6,139	5,519
Ashram	63	64	69	69	85
Middle	194	327	228	229	259
High	80	83	85	99	109
Higher Secondary	2	2	5	5	5
Post Basic	1	1	1	—	—

Types of schools	*Private (Zila Parishad)*					*District Board and Municipal Corporation*				
	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64
1	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Primary including Junior Basic and Sevashram	17,979	15,853	16,684	17,886	18,555	701	115	119	126	126
Ashram	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Middle	790	1,020	1,287	1,732	1,897	64	10	17	20	17
High	103	377	425	548	626	4	5	6	8	8
Higher Secondary	3	3	4	7	11	—	—	—	—	—
Post Basic	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—

Types of schools	*Total*					
	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
1	17	18	19	20	21	22
Primary including Junior Basic and Sevashram	22,809	22,840	23,586	24,151	24,200	25,771
Ashram	63	64	69	69	85	87
Middle	1,048	1,357	1,532	1,981	2,173	2,851
High	187	465	516	655	743	861
Higher Secondary	5	5	9	12	16	17
Post Basic	2	2	2	1	1	2

(Source Directorate of Public Instruction and Department of Tribal and Rural Welfare)

The table given above shows the gradual increase in the number of primary, Ashram, middle and high schools during five years. The details of the agencies running different types of schools in the year 1964-65 were not available. During the years from 1959-60 to 1964-65 the number of primary schools went up from 22,809 to 25,771; Ashram schools from 63 to 87; middle schools from 1,048 to 2,851; high schools from 187 to 861 and higher secondary schools from 5 to 17. The strength of Ashram and other schools run by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department has also increased. The strength of such schools as given in the Annual Administration Report for the year 1963-64 published by the above Department was 85 Ashram schools (66 for boys and 19 for girls); 1,185 Sevashram schools out of which 1,132 were of lower primary standard, 53 of upper primary standard, and six residential schools and 130 Chatsalis. A programme of upgrading some of the Madhyamic Vidyalayas (Ashram schools) every year to high school is being followed. The number of such upgraded schools was six in 1965. The number of schools in the three sample districts is given in the table below.

Table III.2. Strength of schools in the sample districts (1964-65)

Types of schools	*Government*			*Private and aided*			*District Board, Municipal Corporation and Zila Parishad*			*Total*		
	Ganjam	*Koraput*	*Puri*	*Ganjam*	*Koraput*	*Puri*	*Ganjam*	*Koraput*	*Puri*	*Ganjam*	*Koraput*	*Puri*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Primary including Junior Basic	1	126	8	59	115	—	2,576	1,717	2,142	2,636	1,958	2,150
Sevashram	78	345	49	—	—	—	—	—	—	78	345	49
Ashram	5	15	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	15	2
Middle	7	26	18	168	58	—	7	—	292	182	84	310
Senior Basic	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—
Post Basic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
High	24	16	17	65	15	—	3	—	77	92	31	94
Higher Secondary	2	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	5	3	—	8

(Source : Offices of the District Inspectors of Schools)

In Ganjam and Koraput districts, where the concentration of the Saora is more, the number of middle and high schools is less as compared to the non-tribal district of Puri. The number of primary schools in Ganjam is 2,636 and in Koraput 1,958, and the number of middle schools is 182 and 84 respectively, whereas Puri has 2,150 primary schools and 310 middle schools. Ganjam and Koraput have less number of middle schools because the Saora living there can not send their children to the middle schools as most of them drop out before passing upper primary examinations. But in Puri the extent of wastage, as will be seen later, is not so large, which explains the proportionately large number of middle schools there. The table given below gives the details of schools of different types run by various agencies in the sample blocks.

Table III.3. Number of schools in the sample blocks (1964-65)

Types of schools	*Government*						*Private*					
	Gumma	Rayagada	Nuagada	Gunupur	Gop	Khandapara	Gumma	Rayagada	Nuagada	Gunupur	Gop	Khandapara
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Lower Primary and Junior Basic	2	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Upper Primary	2	8	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sevashram	7	10	4	13	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ashram and Kanyashram	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Middle	1	—	—	2	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	13
High	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	2	—	2

Types of schools	*Aided (Panchayat Samiti)*						*Total*					
	Gumma	Rayagada	Nuagada	Gunupur	Gop	Khandapara	Gumma	Rayagada	Nuagada	Gunupur	Gop	Khandapara
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Lower Primary and Junior Basic	46	72	44	44	76	32	48	79	45	44	76	32
Upper Primary	7	8	4	13	40	25	9	16	8	13	40	25
Sevashram	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	10	4	13	1	3
Ashram and Kanyashram	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—
Middle	—	2	2	1	17	—	2	2	2	3	17	15
High	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	1	—	2	3	3

(Source : Offices of the Block Development Officers)

The number of different types of schools in the sample blocks in the Saora and non-tribal areas is not uniform. The middle schools in the four blocks of the Saora area are only 3.31 per cent of the primary schools functioning in those blocks, whereas in the two blocks of Puri district they are 18.49 per cent of the primary schools functioning there. The number of upper primary schools is also less in the four Saora blocks as compared to that in the two non-tribal blocks. The percentage of upper primary schools in the Saora area is 18.92 per cent of the total number of primary schools including Sevashram, while it is 31.07 per cent in the non-tribal area. The number of students in upper primary and middle schools in the Saora area is not adequate. The Saora villages are scattered over a big geographical area and it becomes difficult to find adequate number of students required to run the middle schools. But in the non-tribal area the case is different where people are aware of the advantages of education and send their children to schools. The villages are also big and not scattered which facilitates opening of middle schools and their smooth functioning.

Strength of Teachers

The strength of teachers working in the primary schools of Orissa is given in the table below.

Table III. 4. Strength of primary school teachers in Orissa

Years	*No. of teachers*	*No. of students*	*Teacher-student ratio*
1959-60	29,927	10,87,076	1:36
1960-61	34,150	14,10,860	1:41
1961-62	37,143	14,65,936	1:39
1962-63	44,012	16,05,495	1:36
1963-64	46,520	15,87,426	1:34

(Source: Directorate of Public Instruction)

The above table shows that there was a gradual increase in the number of teachers in five years. Similarly, we find that the teacher and student ratio has also decreased in the four years. In 1960-61 the ratio was 1:41 whereas in 1963-64 it came down to 1:34. In 1960-61 the appointment of teachers was not in proportion to the enrolment of students in primary schools and hence the teacher student ratio shows an increase during that year.

The number of teachers and students in the primary schools and the teacher student ratio in the sample districts are given in the table below.

Table III. 5, Strength of primary school teachers and students in the sample districts (1964-65)

Districts	*No. of teachers*	*No. of students*	*Teacher-student ratio*
Ganjam	5,131	1,65,285	1:32
Koraput	4,275	1,08,544	1:25
Puri	5,381	2,04,033	1:38

(Source : Offices of the District Inspectors of Schools)

The above table indicates that the teacher-student ratio is the highest in the non-tribal Puri district whereas the ratio is lower in both the Saora districts, Ganjam and Koraput. This shows that the number of students coming to the schools in Ganjam and Koraput districts is less than in Puri district. Similarly there is a difference in the teacher-student ratio between Ganjam and Koraput. In Ganjam it is higher than in Koraput. This problem will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.

Agencies for Running the Schools

Government. The main agency for promotion of education in Orissa is the government. It however pays more attention to middle, high and higher secondary schools. They are directly under the Education Department. But some of these are also run by the non-official agencies.

Zila Parishad. Since the introduction of Panchayati Raj in Orissa, all the primary schools have been handed over to the Zila Parishad which functions through the Panchayat Samitis at the block level. Cent percent expenditure incurred by the Parishad or the Samiti on pay, allowances and teaching aids is met by the government, but for the construction and repair of school buildings people's contribution is also sought. In tribal area, including Saora area, government sometimes bears the entire expenditure.

Municipality. In municipal areas different types of schools are run by the municipalities.

Non-official and Voluntary Organizations. In Orissa there are some non-official and voluntary organizations working for the welfare, including education, of the people.

The missionaries have taken up a few welfare programmes in Orissa in which health and education are important. They run a number of primary and middle schools. Their work is mostly confined to the tribal areas. In Saora area also such schools are functioning.

The Servants of India Society runs an Ashram school at Rayagada

in Koraput district with residential facilities for 50 tribal students. It has also four primary schools with a strength of 30 students in each school.

Besides the above agencies responsible for the education of children, if the villagers sometimes feel the necessity of a particular type of school they open one at their own initiative. These private schools are later on given help and recognition by the government.

Staffing Pattern

In the high or higher secondary schools the headmaster or the principal is the head of the institution. Under him there are many assistant teachers. In primary schools where there are more than one teacher one of them is the headmaster. In the Saora area most of the schools are single teacher schools and hence the teacher is the incharge of the school. The strength of teachers in a school depends upon the number of students attending the school. Normally for 40 students one teacher is posted.

The staffing pattern in the schools run by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department is slightly different. An Ashram school is under the charge of a Head Pandit and for different subjects and crafts there are separate teachers who are responsible for the successful promotion of a particular scheme, such as, agriculture, poultry, carpentry etc. They have also to take guidance from the Block Development Officer and the respective Extension Officers. In the Ashram and residential Sevashram schools there is a hostel superintendent who looks after the board and lodging arrangements of students. In a Sevashram school also there is a Head Pandit and one or two teachers. In Chatsalis there is only one teacher who is incharge of the school.

In a primary school having more than 10 girl students a School Mother is appointed preferably from the same or the neighbouring village. Most of the village schools in the non-tribal areas have been provided with School Mothers but most of the schools in the Saora area run without them because the incumbents for such posts are not available there. A School Mother gets 15 days' training and has to teach knitting, embroidery and such other handiwork to girl students.

School Hours and Vacations

The schools generally function from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. with a recess of an hour. In summer in most of the places schools function in the morning. This general pattern of school hours is followed all over the State except the tribal areas where it is slightly different. The tribal children are to graze the cattle and help the parents in other economic pursuits. Hence the parents are not willing to spare their children for

the whole day for schooling only. In the Saora area the school hours for primary schools are from 7 to 9 in the morning and 4 to 6 in the evening, so that the children have enough time to work at home and also to attend their school. But this timing is not followed strictly because mostly the teachers are not regular. They want to conduct classes according to their conveniences which do not suit the Saora children. The timing of middle schools is the same in both non-tribal and Saora areas.

Vacations and holidays are many in the schools. Summer vacation and puja vacation are the longest. Holidays are also given on the occasions of the main festivals and ceremonies of the various religious groups in the State. A common list of vacations and holidays is followed all over the State. But the Saora students, like other tribal students, need holidays according to their festivals and agricultural operations in which they have to assist their parents. They do not need them on the occasion of various festivals of the Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities. In the Saora area of Koraput district long holidays are given in the busy agricultural season but in Ganjam this practice is not followed.

Financial Assistance and Its Utilization

Primary education in Orissa is free for all sections of the community. For scheduled tribe and scheduled caste students education is free at all levels.

In general, the financial assistance is given in the shape of free studentships, stipends, scholarships, book grants etc. to meritorious and poor students. Scholarships are generally given at the upper primary stage on the recommendation of the Headmaster and Sub-Inspector of Schools on merit-*cum*-means considerations.

Pre-matric Scholarships. The scheme for the award of pre-matric scholarships is one of the schemes included in the State sector. This is intended to supplement financial assistance awarded from the non-plan schemes of educational development.

The total amount of pre-matric scholarships given to tribal students in the first three years of the Third Five-Year Plan was Rs. 52,10,111. The number of tribal students who were awarded scholarships was 41,638. The corresponding Saora figures were not available.

Midday Meal Centres. Provision of midday meals is one of the significant measures taken by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department to increase attendance of tribal students in primary schools. This is in operation only in the more backward areas where block funds are not available to meet expenditure on this scheme.

The total number of tribal students benefited by this scheme in 1961-62 was 4,166 at 200 centres; in 1962-63, 6,945 at 333 centres; and in 1963-64, 5,556 at 268 centres. The reduction in the number of beneficiaries and centres in 1963-64 was because some of the centres were taken over by the blocks and expenditure met out of their funds. The scheme of midday meals is executed through the agency of the Panchayat Samitis and co-ordinated with the distribution of skimmed milk supplied by UNICEF and the use of garden produce raised by the students themselves. The corresponding Saora figures in this case also were not available.

As this is the programme for tribal students, it is more in action in the Saora area than in Puri district. In almost all the primary schools, this scheme has been implemented. In Puri district this has not been implemented in all the schools. The supply of skimmed milk has been undertaken in the primary schools under the Expanded Nutrition Programme of UNICEF. This programme has also been extended to the Saora area. The midday meal programme has become a good incentive for the tribal children to attend schools.

Dress. The scheme of providing dress to school children, run by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department, also provides a sort of incentive to the tribal children. Each of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students studying in Sevashram schools is supplied with two sets of dress at a cost of Rs. 16 per annum. Each set consists of half shirts and shorts for boys and easer and frocks for girls.[7]

This programme has been implemented mostly in tribal areas including the Saora area. In Puri district the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students reading only in Sevashram schools are supplied with dress.

Free Supply of Reading and Writing Materials. Under this scheme the scheduled tribe and scheduled caste students get books, slates and stationery free of cost. This scheme is a non-plan scheme, but if required, the expenditure can also be met from the plan scheme of the State sector.

This scheme provides benefits to the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students including the Saora students. In non-tribal area like Puri district this benefit goes to the scheduled caste students only. These are supplied through the teacher of the school.

Hostels. Besides the general hostels for all types of students, special hostels for scheduled tribe and scheduled caste students have also been opened by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department. Up to 1963-64, 652 hostels were sanctioned, out of which 285 were for scheduled tribe, 202 for scheduled caste and 165 for other backward class students. There are only three hostels in the three sample Saora blocks.

Girls' Hostel. This is a centrally sponsored scheme. It was started from the Third Five Year-Plan. It is meant for tribal girls reading in middle and secondary schools. During the Third Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 60,000 was spent on hostels for tribal girl students.

Though the nature of assistance given to the students in Puri district and the Saora area are the same, yet the Saora are provided more facilities as they are educationally more backward. The facilities provided in non-tribal area are also extended to Saora area. The facilities given by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department for the educational development of the tribes, including the Saora are benefiting the Saora more than the non-tribal students of Puri.

People's Participation

Participation of the people in the development programmes launched by the government is essential for their successful implementation. The development programmes suiting to the needs of people generally get favourable response from them and the workers engaged in promotion of such programmes get co-operation of the people. Similarly, the successfull functioning of primary schools and educational development of the people depend upon the villagers' co-operation and participation in the programmes. The co-operation of villagers found in the non-tribal area is not available in the Saora area.

In the Lanjia Saora villages it is found that villagers do not co-operate with the teachers. No accommodation for the teacher or for the school is available. In a Saora village where there is no school building, the school is run in the verandah of some one's house. The teacher can not remain in the village and has to come from a distant place. He is required to run the school twice, once in the morning and then in the evening. But in the non-tribal areas the school sits only once. There the villagers are more enlightened, education-minded and realize the importance of education. Villagers provide some accommodation to the teacher and even construct the school building. In Saora area it is generally found that the students are not regular in coming to the school. Many children of school-going age do not attend the school due to lack of interest among the villagers. The regular attendance of students depends upon the will of the parents without which the school cannot function.

The functioning of school committee is more satisfactory in the non-tribal area than in the Saora area. The successful functioning of the school is very much dependent upon the active participation of villagers through the school committee. There is no regularity in the meetings of the committee and initiative from the villagers for the development of the school in the Saora area. The school committee has to look after all the important matters of the school and help the teacher in collecting child-

ren to be admitted and maintaining their regular attendance in the school. It also ensures regularity in the attendance of teacher and proper functioning of the school. The chairman of the school committee has also to certify about regular attendance of the teacher to enable him to get his salary. This is not systematic in the Saora area whereas in the non-tribal area it is systematic and helps in proper functioning of schools. The educated chairman of the school committee in the non-tribal area certainly feels his responsibility and discharges his duties in a way better than the illiterate chairman of the school committee in the Saora area.

The difference in the villagers' appreciation of the programmes in the Saora and non-tribal areas has also been noticed. In the Saora area the villagers do not appreciate the necessity of regular functioning of schools. In a few villages it was found that the villagers did not co-operate in this programme in any way and the authorities had to shift the school to some other village. Instances are also there, when the proposal to open a school in a particular village was dropped due to the unwillingness of the villagers. But in general the people are not against this programme. In non-tribal area, the villagers are eager to have a school in the village, they appoint a teacher and run the school themselves, and then they try to get aid and recognition from the government, which after a lapse of time they usually get.

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

SINCE education is the responsibility of the States, the teaching methods, curricula and pattern of educational administration are not uniform in all of them. Orissa has also its own pattern of educational administration though it has greatly been influenced by the pattern followed in Bihar. In this chapter the problems arising out of educational administration have been discussed. Though the pattern of administration of primary schools throughout the State is the same, the implementation of the scheme and progress made in this field in the different areas of the State are not the same.

Primary education in Orissa was previously under the control of Education Department but, after the introduction of the Panchayati Raj and formation of Zila Parishad in 1961, it has been handed over to the Zila Parishads which have been empowered to appoint and transfer teachers, give punishment and reward to them, open new schools and give sanction for construction of buildings and upgrade the existing schools. Hence practically all aspects of management and supervision rest with the Zila Parishad which works through the Panchayat Samitis at the block level.

Number of Schools

While discussing in chapter three the existing educational programmes in Orissa in general and the Saora area in particular, the number of different types of schools functioning in the four blocks of the Saora area and the two blocks of Puri district were given to have a comparative idea. Teachers, officers and parents were asked to give their views regarding the adequacy of the number of schools in their areas. 66.67 per cent of the parents and 45.45 per cent of the teachers interviewed in Puri district said that the number of schools opened in their area was sufficient and there was no need of opening any new school. 49.18 per cent of the teachers working in the Saora area said that the number of schools functioning in their area was enough, while 50.82 per cent of them said that it was not enough and that there was a need for opening more schools. Similarly, 36.36 per cent of the officers said that the number of schools functioning there

was adequate, while 63.64 per cent of them said that it was not adequate. Thus a majority of the respondents were of the view that the number of schools was not enough. The main criteria for opening a school were the population of the village concerned and the distance of the nearest existing school from it. 81.82 per cent of the officers considered these as the two main criteria. 36.36 per cent and 9.09 per cent of the officers said that public demand for a school in a village, and number of households in the village respectively were the other two criteria. The average population served by different types of schools is given in the table below.

Table IV. 1. Population served by schools

Blocks	*Total population*	*No. of lower primary including Sevashram and junior basic schools*	*Population served by a lower primary school*	*No. of upper primary schools*	*Population served by an upper primary school*	*No. of middle schools including Ashram and Kanyashram schools*	*Population served by a middle school*	*No. of high schools*	*Population served by a high school*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Gumma	41,086	55	747	9	4,565	2	20,543	2	20,543
Rayagada	42,623	88	484	17	2.507	3	14,208	1	42,623
Nuagada	22,019	49	449	8	2,752	2	11,009	—	—
Gunupur	44,628	56	797	14	3,188	4	11,157	2	22,314
Total	1,50,356	248	606	48	3,132	11	13,669	5	30,071
Gop	81,777	77	1,062	40	2,044	17	4,810	3	27,259
Khandpara	63,810	35	1,823	25	2,552	15	4,254	3	21,270
Total	1,45,587	112	1,300	65	2,240	32	4,549	6	24,264

In the Saora area there is one lower primary school for 606 people and in Puri district for 1,300 people. In the Saora area there are 48 upper primary schools for 1,50,356 persons, that is to say, 3,132 persons, on an average, are served by an upper primary school, but in Puri district only 2,240 persons are served by one upper primary school. In Gop block the situation is different where there is one upper primary school for only 2,044 persons, In Khandpara block which has also tribal population the situation is almost similar to that in the blocks in the Saora area. Similarly, on an average, 13,669 and 30,071 persons are served by one middle and one high school respectively in the Saora area. In Puri district, on an average, 4,549 persons are served by one middle school and 24,264 by one high school. This indicates that the population served by a middle school in Puri district is less than that served in the Saora area. So far Gop block is concerned whére there is no tribal population, there is one middle school for only 4,810 persons.

The number of schools can also be studied from different angles. The table given below shows the number of schools serving the number of children of school-going age.

Table IV. 2. Ratio of school and children of school-going age (5 to 14 years)

Blocks	*Total population*	*Children of school-going age*	*No. of lower primary including Sevashram and junior basic schools*	*Ratio of lower primary school and children*	*No. of upper primary schools*
1	2	3	4	5	6
Gunma	41,086	10,066	55	1:183	9
Rayagada	42,623	10,443	88	1:119	17
Nuagada	22,019	5,395	49	1:110	8
Gunupur	44,628	10,934	56	1:195	14
Total	1,50,356	36,838	248	1:149	48
Gop	81,777	20,035	77	1:260	40
Khandpara	63,810	15,633	35	1:447	25
Total	1,45,587	35,668	112	1:318	65

Ratio of upper primary school and children	*No. of middle schools including Ashrams and Kanyashrams*	*Ratio of middle school and children*	*No. of high schools*	*Ratio of high school and children*
7	8	9	10	11
1:1,118	2	1:5,033	2	1:5,033
1:614	3	1:3,481	1	1:10,443
1:674	2	1:2,698	—	—
1:781	4	1:2,734	2	1:5,467
1:767	11	1:3,349	5	1:7,368
1:501	17	1:1,178	3	1:6,678
1:625	15	1:1,042	3	1:5,211
1:549	32	1:1,115	6	1:5,945

In the table given above the number of children of school-going age (5 to 14 years) has been calculated on the basis of the reports of the Census of India, 1961. Children from 5 to 14 years of age are, on an average, 24.5 per cent of the total population. On this basis the number of children of school-going age has been calculated assuming that this percentage holds good in case of both Saora and non-tribal areas.

As per table IV.2. given above the ratio of lower primary schools and children of school-going age in the Saora area is 1:149, whereas in Puri district it is 1:318. In Gop, which is a purely non-tribal block, the ratio is 1:260 and in Khandpara which has a mixed population it is 1:447. Thus it apears that a lower primary school in Puri district serves more children of school-going age than those in the Saora area, but if this aspect is considered keeping in view the functioning and capacity of the lower primary schools in these two areas, it appears that the number of such schools is not adequate in the Saora area. As the Saora villages are scattered and the number of children attending schools is low, most of the schools are one-teacher schools having less number of students, whereas in Puri district most of the lower primary schools have more than one teacher and also have much more strength of students than in the Saora area. Thus, though the number of lower primary schools seems less in Puri district as shown in the above table, yet the schools serve more children. The ratio in Saora area of upper primary schools and children is 1:767, while in Puri district it is 1:549 and in the non-tribal block; that is, Gop it is only 1:501. This means one upper primary school in the non-tribal area, that is, Puri district has to serve less number of children of school-going age than an upper primary school of the Saora area. The same position is found in the number of middle schools. The ratio in the Saora area is 1:3,349, whereas in Puri district it is only 1:1,115 which means that there is one middle school for less number of children of school-going age in Puri district than for those in the Saora area. One middle school in the Saora area has to serve three times as many children of school-going age as in the non-tribal area. The ratio of a high school and children of school-going age is 1:7,369 in the Saora area, whereas it is only 1:5,945 in Puri district.

It appears from tables IV.1 and IV.2 that one lower primary school in the Saora area serves less number of people and children of school-going age than it does in Puri district. The number of middle and high schools is, however, not sufficient in the Saora area. Less number of upper primary schools also affects the enrolment of children in these schools because the children are discouraged to go to distant places for higher education.

The School Buildings

It was observed in Puri district that with a few exception all the schools were housed in solid, permanent buildings. Normally one room was allotted to one class; only in few cases two classes were held in one room. In the Saora area, except the Sevashram schools, very few schools have their buildings. While the upper primary and middle schools have buildings of their own, the lower primary schools which are generally one-teacher schools function in the verandah of the house of a *gomang* or of the chairman of the school committee or of some villagers where hardly 10 to 15 students can sit. It is very difficult to run such schools during the rainy season. In one case the school has been functioning in the village for more than 40 years but has no school building. And the result is that the school has not been able to produce even literates. And this is not the solitary case in the Saora villages.

Though the principle of construction of school buildings in the Saora area should be the same as in Puri district, yet, in practice, it is not so, and a school building in the Saora area has only one room. So far as the condition of the school building and its maintenance are concerned, there is a great deal of difference in the two areas. The school buildings in the Saora area, if they exist, have generally mud walls and thatched roof. Though such a building is built with local material and where the Saora children feel at home as it offers them a proper environment, yet it is necessary to maintain the building properly. Most of the school buildings are in dilapidated condition. The roof leaks in the rainy season and the floor is not worth sitting. In Puri district it is not so due to the awareness among the villagers and their active co-operation. Even in the one-teacher schools the buildings are properly maintained.

This deplorable condition in the Saora area is due to several factors. The teacher does not remain in the village as there is no residential facility for him and he sometimes does not get even a room to stay in the village. Sometimes the villagers want to provide a room to the teacher but he does not want to stay in such a room, and so he wants to remain in his own village. It may be pointed out here that most of the teachers are Pano who come from Gumma, Buruding, Serango, Khijuripada, Rayagada, Nuagada and Jaltar villages and want to go back in the evening. Thus classes are naturally not conducted regularly and the condition of the school building deteriorates. The villagers also do not care to repair it.

Another problem arises when one common school is opened to cater to the needs of children of two or three villages. In one of the sample villages the school was meant for three villages and the school building

was about to collapse because the roof was leaking from all sides. The roof of the school building had three main slopes and each village had to maintain one slope. On the request of the teacher people from two villages came and repaired the two sides but the third village did not respond to the teacher's request. Since it was everybody's business it turned out to be nobody's business.

A similar case was found in another village where the school building was to be maintained by two villages. Though the teacher was not in the village, on hearing of our visit to the village, people wanted to clean the school building. The villagers from the distant village came and cleaned and plastered only half of the verandah with cowdung while the other half which was the responsibility of the other village remained unclean. The irony of the situation was that people of the same village where the school was situated did not participate in this work There are several such instances in which the school buildings are neglected because they are to be maintained not by one but two or three villages.

The co-operation of the villagers in the Saora area in the construction of the school building is not satisfactory. In response to the question regarding the willingness of the Saora to construct or repair the school buildings 86.89 per cent teachers working in the Saora area said that the people were not ready to construct or repair the school building. 70.50 per cent teachers said that they were not at all satisfied with the co-operation they got from the Saora. On the other hand, 93.94 per cent teachers working in Puri district said that the villagers contributed to the construction and repair of school buildings and other affairs of the school. 51.51 per cent of the teachers said that they got the expected co-operation from the villagers. Thus due to lack of co-operation and involvement of the people in this programme the school buildings are not constructed or repaired properly.

There are some other causes also because of which the school building is not maintained in the Saora area. The Saora have to work hard for their livelihood. Their financial position is not good and hence they are not in a position to make cash contribution for it. But it does not mean that the Saora cannot contribute their labour for the repair of the school building. It all depends upon how they are approached for this work. In some of the villages where teachers were really interested the Saora came forward to help them and also constructed and repaired the school building.

The School Committee

The school committee has to play a vital role in the functioning of the village school. It has to look after the management and proper functioning of the school, secure co-operation from the villagers, to issue

certificate to the teacher of his attendance and to sanction him leave. The chairman of the school committee has to discharge these responsibilities. A school committee is more effective in Puri district than in the Saora area. There it takes keener interest in the affairs of the school. It encourages and guides the teachers, makes efforts to enroll in the school all the available children of school-going age, and gets the building constructed and repaired.

In the Saora area the situation is rather discouraging. Most of the committees are not much interested in the welfare of their schools as they are not aware of their responsibilities and duties. 66.13 per cent chairmen of the school committees in the sample villages were illiterate. Those who were literate were mostly non-tribal or Christian Saora. In the remote villages, where the Saora have not become Christian, only a few of them are literate. They are therefore unable to keep an eye on the teachers and look after the affairs of the schools. But in Puri district among the interviewed heads of villages who are chairmen of the school committees or members of pānchayats, only 3.03 per cent were illiterate. A chairman of the school committee in the Saora area is also at times misguided by the teacher. He takes undue advantage of his illiteracy. It was reported that when he remains absent on most occasions he explains it to the chairman by telling him about imaginary meetings in the block headquarters, or his visit there for taking his salary and various other excuses with which the chairman is not aware. The teacher takes his thumb impression on his applications without disclosing their exact contents. The chairman thus is hardly able to control the movement of the teacher and the school consequently suffers.

In one such case the teacher did not come to the school for several months, the classes were not conducted, and the school building was in dilapidated condition. But the teacher continued to get his pay by producing certificates from the chairman of the school committee that he had conducted the classes satisfactorily during the months. The chairman of the school committee confirmed that he had not signed any such certificate except a leave application of the teacher which perhaps was the certificate required by the teacher and not a leave application. So the teacher had killed two birds with one stone. It was also observed that the Saora are afraid of the Pano who exploit them in every walk of life. 67.21 per cent teachers of the sample village schools were Pano and they dominated over the Saora. The Saora chairmen are not in a position to report or complain against the teacher. Though this state of affairs obtains due to lack of co-operation between the school committee and the teacher and supervision by the school committee, yet the teacher alone cannot be blamed as he too has to work under difficult circumstances which will be discussed later on in this chapter.

There is no regularity in calling the meeting of the school committee because neither the teacher nor the chairman is intersted. Unless there is regular meeting of the school committee, it cannot look after the affairs of the school properly.

Inspection of Schools

The inspection of primary schools in the Saora area also plays a great role in their proper functioning. To know the adequacy of inspections of primary schools in the Saora area, the views of the officers working there were recorded. 81.82 per cent of the officers said that the inspections of schools were not adequate. A primary school has to be inspected by the Sub-Inspector of Schools at least twice a year, but it is never done as per requirement. Some of the sample schools were not inspected for the last two years. In some schools the teachers said that the visitor's books were with the Sub-Inspectors of Schools for writing their inspection notes. The Sub-Inspector of Schools feels that the area under his charge is big and thus he does not get time to inspect all the schools. The table given below gives the number of schools under the charge of a Sub-Inspector of Schools.

Table IV. 3. Ratio of Sub-Inspector of Schools and primary schools

Blocks	*No. of primary schools in the block*	*No. of Sub-Inspector of schools/ Assistant Sub-Inspector of Schools in the block*	*Sub-Inspector/ Assistant Sub-Inspector of schools and primary schools ratio*
Gumma	64	1	1:64
Rayagada	105	2	1:53
Nuagada	57	1	1:57
Gunupur	70	2	1:35
Total	296	6	1:49
Gop	117	2	1:58
Khandpara	60	1	1:60
Total	177	3	1:59

The ratio in the Saora area is 1:49 and in Puri district 1:59. A Sub-Inspector of Schools in the Saora area has less number of schools than has his counterpart in Puri. This is because of several factors. The number of primary schools is less, that is, 74 on an average in a block in the Saora area, whereas in Puri district it is about 89 in a block. Secondly, it is the practice that at least one Sub-Inspector of Schools is to be posted in a block and in the blocks where the number of primary schools is sufficiently large two Sub-Inspectors of Schools can be posted.

Thirdly, communication facilities in Puri are better than those in the Saora area. In the former a Sub-Inspector of Schools can cover many schools in a day by jeep or bus but in the latter he has to cover many miles on foot to reach a school. Thus though the number of schools may be few in charge of the Sub-Inspector in the Saora area, he has to cover a big area. Thus the number of inspections of the primary schools is not adequate in the Saora area because most of the inspecting staff are not prepared to undertake the strenuous journeys oftener than they do to the Saora schools.

Keeping in view the above factors, it seems that the area and number of schools to be covered by the inspecting staff in the Saora area are much more than what can be normally covered.

In absence of clerical assistance the Sub-Inspectors of Schools have to look after the whole office work. They have to prepare pay bills of teachers, maintain leave accounts and other necessary records regarding the teachers, conduct meetings, maintain statistics of examinations conducted, supply informations to district officers and others relating to education and correspond with other officers. This multifarious engagement of the Sub-Inspectors of Schools leaves little time for them to go on tour, make night halts outside the headquarters and make a thorough inspection of schools.

One of the important reasons of inadequate inspection of schools is the lack of enthusiasm and interest among the inspecting staff due to hardship in the Saora area, lack of full co-operation from the villagers and unsatisfactory functioning of the schools inspite of their afforts.

The higher inspecting officers also do not make frequent inspections of work done by the Sub-Inspectors of Schools and the schools. The supervision by higher officers is not adequate due to problems generally found in the Saora area and due to a great deal of paper work at the headquarters.

A Sub-Inspector of Schools has no power to punish the teachers, he can only report the matter to the Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti and suggest action. The Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti generally agrees to the suggestions given by the Sub-Inspector of Schools but when he does not do so, the latter finds himself in an embarrassing situation and feels belittled in the eyes of the teachers. Some of the teachers have their own source of influence and they may retaliate by reporting to the Chairman that the Sub-Inspector of Schools is prejudiced against them. If this convinces the Chairman, recommendations of the Sub-Inspector of Schools are put aside and no action is taken against the teacher. This has an adverse effect on the morale of the Sub-Inspector of Schools and he prefers not to make any recommendation which is

likely to be turned down by the Chairman. The teachers also on the other hand start feeling that the Sub-Inspector of Schools can not harm them. If the Chairman and the teacher happen to belong to the same village the former cannot afford to antagonize the latter as he may prove to be of much help to him in the next election. The problem is found not only in the Saora area but in the non- tribal area also. If some action is taken against the teacher then he may run to the Zila Parishad and try to solve his problem there. Some times the teachers take the help of influential people who happen to be the members of their religion and try to protect them. There were cases in which teachers could get their transfer orders cancelled at the district level or could get themselves transferred to some other villages of their choice. Such involvement of teachers in politics and their direct approach to higher bodies and officers create problems for the Block Development Officers and the Sub-Inspectors of Schools as a result of which they cannot work freely and make their inspections effective.

Functioning of Primary Schools

In order to find out how the primary schools function in the sample areas, different categories of respondents were interviewed. Most of the villagers interviewed reported that the village school did not function regularly as the teacher mostly remained absent. 81.82 per cent of the officers working in the Saora area said that they were not satisfied with the functioning of the primary schools of their area. The students were hesitant to tell about the functioning of their schools in the presence of their teachers. But when they were asked in the absence of their teachers, they also said that the schools did not function properly. Most of the primary schools were not fulfilling the very purpose for which they were opened. The reasons why schools did not function properly are many and varied.

Most of the teachers do not belong to the villages where schools are situated but come from distant villages. They are not regular in this because of distance, weather conditions, and other domestic and social engagements. They come to the schools hardly for a few days in a week. We have also come across a few schools which the teacher did not attend for weeks together. In one of the villages visited not a single student was in the class. On inquiry, the teacher told that all the students had gone to work in their *podu* fields or with their cattle. He also told that he went daily to call the children from their homes, thus laying the entire blame on the students. When he was requested to show the house of a particular student whose father was to be interviewed, he took us to a house in a corner of the village. We inquired from the couple sitting in the verandah of the house as to why they did not send

their child to school. They were at first surprised but, later on, understanding the situation they said that they had no child and the house of that particular student was situated at the other end of the village. Then some of the villagers present in the village assembled and told us that they did not know as to who was the teacher appointed for their village as they had never seen that teacher nor any other teacher for the last one year.

Many people complained that the teachers did not stay in the villages nor did they conduct classes regularly. If they came to school they came at such a time when the children were at work. In a few villages where the teachers lived in the villages and conducted classes regularly villagers had all the appreciation for them.

As there is a lack of interest for education among the villagers, the teachers do not get full co-operation to run the schools. 44.45 per cent of the officers said that it was one of the important causes for unsatisfactory functioning of primary schools in the Saora area.

Poor attendance of students in primary schools does not enthuse the teacher to conduct classes properly. 95.08 per cent of the teachers said that they were not satisfied with the attendance of the Saora students in the school whereas 100 per cent teachers working in the non-tribal area of Puri said that they were satisfied with the attendance of the non-tribal students in their schools. An opposite view in this regard is that the students are not very enthusiastic about attending schools only for a few days in a week because once they lose touch with the subject they find it difficult to again resume their studies from the beginning. However, the fact remains that attendance of students in the Saora area remains very poor.

In absence of the school building and residence for teachers it is very difficult to run the school efficiently. This is one of the most important reasons why primary schools in the Saora area do not function properly.

Also because of lack of proper supervision, the schools do not function in the way they should.

The School Hours

The schools function twice a day: once in the morning and once in the evening. This practice seems to be all right as 93.75 per cent of the students and 100 per cent of the parents said that the present timings of school were suitable and these need not be changed. The only thing which is required is that the classes should be conducted as per scheduled time.

Maintenance of Records

The records of admission, drop out, examination results, attendance

etc. are poorly maintained in the primary schools of the Saora area. In most of the sample schools the required information was not available. A teacher who did not keep his records properly, almost invariably blamed his predecessor for not keeping the record, but it was found that he also had not maintained the record from the time he had taken over. On many occasions such a teacher told that the registers were with the Sub-Inspector of Schools and promotion lists were also with him for approval. Such things can never help in proper functioning of the schools and in inspection or assessment of the work of the teacher and progress made by the school. In Puri district, with a few exceptions, the records were better maintained.

Teaching Aids

The teaching aids provided to the primary schools in the Saora area are not adequate. In the lower primary schools except blackboards and chalks nothing can be found. A chair and a table are all the furniture found in such schools. In some of them a few shoddy little desks are also provided which are hardly of any use to the students. In addition to these teaching aids and furniture, some of the primary schools are also supplied with charts, globes etc. The Sevashram schools are, in addition to these teaching aids, also supplied with clocks, posters, counting balls and sticks. 88.52 per cent teachers and 72.73 per cent officers working in the Saora area reported that teaching aids provided to the primary schools were not adequate. In absence of the adequate teaching aids education of children becomes difficult and the teacher also does not find any interest in teaching.

But in Puri district the situation is better. The lower primary schools also have charts, globes and counting balls and sticks. In most of the primary schools in Puri district the teachers got counting sticks prepared by the students themselves. The teachers in the Saora area have not made these efforts. The teaching aids provided to the schools in Puri district are also properly maintained. Games and sports materials were not provided in the Saora area and the teachers also did not try to make arrangement for these things. But these materials were available in some of the schools of Puri district. The reason for more teaching aids available in the non-tribal area are perhaps due to the interest of the teachers and the demand from the parents. But in the Saora area neither the teacher nor the parents try to get them. 90.91 per cent teachers working in Puri district said that the students fully avail of the teaching aids provided to them.

Reading and Writing Materials

The reading and writing materials provided to the Saora students are more in comparison to those provided to the non-tribal students of

Puri district. In principle, text-books and slates are to be given free of cost to the Saora students, but in many schools these were not given. 83.85 per cent students in the Saora area said that they got reading and writing materials from the government. 68.75 per cent students said that they got them in time, whereas 31.25 per cent of them said that they did not get them in time. The delay in providing these materials to the students is caused due to several factors. Sometimes there is delay in sending the books from the district headquarters to the blocks and then passing them on to the teachers. Generally the teachers receive these articles when they go to block headquarters to receive their pay. From there most of the teachers go home and do not come back to the school for quite some time. The school remains closed in the meantime and when the teacher returns to school, he does not find adequate number of students to distribute the books in the presence of the chairman of the school committee. In some cases the books are to be distributed in presence of the Sub-Inspector of Schools but he cannot afford to go to all the schools within a few days to get the books distributed. Due to above mentioned factors the reading and writing materials are not given to the Saora students in time. Some of the parents even alleged that the teacher did not distribute all the books to the students but sold most of them outside. How far this allegation is true can be said only after a detailed enquiry which was not within the purview of the present study.

Number of Teachers

The adequacy of the number of teachers can be assessed with the help of teacher-student ratio in different blocks. The number of teachers generally depends upon the number of school-going children. It appears that the number of teachers posted in the one-teacher lower primary schools is adequate vis-a-vis the number of school-going children in the Saora area. The table given below gives their ratio.

Table IV 4. Teacher-student ratio

Blocks	*No. of students*	*No. of teachers*	*Teacher-student ratio*
Gumma	983	34	1:29
Rayagada	286	10	1:29
Nuagada	601	23	1:26
Gunupur	285	10	1:28
Total	2,155	77	1:28
Gop	2,129	51	1:42
Khandpara	1,005	28	1:36
Total	3,134	79	1:40

The teacher-student ratio in the Saora area is 1:28, whereas in Puri district it is 1:40. It means that the number of teachers in the Saora

area is more than that of the non-tribal area for the same number of students. But, it has been pointed out earlier that the number of schools, especially upper primary and middle schools, is not adequate in the Saora area in relation to the population and the number of children of school-going age. If the teacher-student ratio is less in the Saora area it is not because the number of teachers is more, but because adequate number of students do not come to the school as they do in the non-tribal area. The table given below gives the details.

Table IV. 5. Population and children of school-going age served by a teacher

Blocks	*Total population of block*	*No. of children of school-going age (5 to 14 years*	*No. of teachers in the block*	*Population served by a teacher*	*No. of children of school-going age served by a teacher*
Gumma	41,086	10,066	101	407	100
Rayagada	42,623	10,443	140	304	75
Nuagada	22,019	5,395	82	269	66
Gunupur	44,628	10,934	107	417	102
Total	1,50,356	36,838	430	350	86
Gop	81,777	20,035	249	328	80
Khandpara	63,810	15,633	160	399	98
Total	1,45,587	35,668	409	356	87

The population served by a teacher in the Saora area is 350, while in the non-tribal area it is 356. Similarly, the number of children of school-going age served by a teacher is 86 in the Saora area and 87 in the non-tribal area. Thus there is no significant difference in the population and children of school-going age served by a teacher in the two areas. There is, however, a significant difference in the teacher-student ratio. This means that in the Saora area the enrolment of students is much less than what it is in the non-tribal area.

Qualification and Training of Teachers

The qualification and training of teachers are important factors for the good performance of the students and success of the educational programmes. Though qualified and trained teachers are better able to run the schools and the students taught by them produce better results, yet there are a few exceptions in which a less qualified teacher having interest in his work has produced better results.

The teachers working in the Saora area and in Puri district differ greatly in their qualification, though in experience they are almost at the same level. Teachers working in Puri district are better qualified than those in the Saora area.

Table IV. 6. Qualification and training of teachers

Blocks	*No. of teachers*	*Qualification*			*Training*	
		Middle and below	*Non-matric*	*Matric*	*Trained*	*Untrained*
Gumma	34	27	7	—	28	6
		(79.41)	(20.59)	—	(82.35)	(17.65)
Rayagada	10	8	2	—	9	1
		(80.11)	(20.00)	—	(90.00)	(10.00)
Nuagada	23	17	5	1	14	9
		(73.91)	(21.74)	(4.35)	(60.87)	(39.13)
Gunupur	10	7	3	—	7	3
		(70.00)	(30.00)	—	(70.00)	(30.00)
Total	77	59	17	1	58	19
		(76.62)	(22.08)	(1.30)	(75.32)	(24.68)
Gop	51	31	14	6	42	9
		(60.79)	(27.45)	(11.76)	(82.35)	(17.65)
Khandpara	28	13	8	7	18	10
		(46.43)	(28.57)	(25.00)	(64.29)	(35.71)
Total	79	44	22	13	60	19
		(55.70)	(27.85)	(16.45)	(75.95)	(24.05)

(In this and in all other tables, figures in brackets indicate percentages)

76.62 per cent of the teachers working in the Saora area are either middle passed or below middle, but in the non-tribal area only 55.70 per cent of the teachers are in this category. The percentage of non-matric teachers in the Saora area is 22.08 per cent and in Puri district it is 27.85 per cent. The significant variation is found in respect of matriculate teachers. In the Saora area only 1.30 per cent teachers are matriculates whereas in the non-tribal area as many as 16.45 per cent teachers are matriculates. So far as the qualification of teachers is concerned, the teachers working in the non-tribal area are better qualified than those working in the Saora area. In the Saora area most of the teachers are Pano who after passing middle class are appointed as teachers and sent for elementary teachers' training. They are generally preferred because many of them know Saora dialect. Secondly, there is not much facility for the Pano to go for higher education nor are they very anxious for it as they easily get the job of teachers even after passing middle class. The teachers from outside the Saora area do not prefer to work there due to hard life and hence there is not much competition in getting a teacher's job in the Saora area. The low percentage of literacy and small number of persons having education up to any useful educational level facilitate these little educated people to come forward and get this job. This explains the high percentage of teachers in the Saora area who are only middle passed or even below. On the other hand in the non-tribal area

there is more competition for jobs and even better qualified people come forward to accept the job meant for less qualified people.

So far as the training of teachers is concerned, there is practically no difference in the number of trained teachers in the Saora area and Puri district. In the Saora area 75.32 per cent teachers are trained and 24.68 per cent untrained, and in the non-tribal area, the corresponding percentage is 75.95 and 24.05. This equality in the number of trained teachers in both the areas is partly because it is necessary for a teacher to have elementary teachers' training for getting appointment, and partly because they are deputed as inservice trainees to receive this training. About one-fourth of the teachers are untrained. All the teachers working in the Saora area said that they did not receive any special training to work in the Saora area. They had received the same elementary teachers' training which the teachers working in Puri disrict had.

The calibre and knowledge of the teachers working in the Saora area are not satisfactory and they are certainly inferior to those of the teachers working in the non-tribal area. It is true that these teachers are able to teach the primary school students the books prescribed for them, but they generally cannot impart other knowledge to the students, because they themselves lack it. This lack of up-to-date knowledge among the teachers has a direct and telling effect on the general knowledge of students. It is mainly because there is no medium or agency to keep the teachers abreast of the current explosion of knowledge. Teachers also do not have any initiative or motivation to keep themselves posted with current affairs. They are totally unaffacted with the impact of various media of mass communication—mainly because of communication bottlenecks. The teachers working in the non-tribal areas, however, are better informed in this respect. Good communication facilities, contact with outside people and free flow of information through the various media of mass communication keep them informed of everything that is happening outside their school and village.

Problems Faced by Teachers

Efforts were made to identify some of the important problems faced by the teachers working in the Saora area. 91.81 per cent of the teachers working in the Saora area interviewed said that they were not willing to serve in the Saora area due to various problems they had to face. Similiarly, 84.85 per cent teachers of Puri district said that they did not want to be transferred to the Saora area. Some of the problems faced by the teachers in the Saora area are :

Lack of residential accommodation. Normally government do not provide any residential accommodation to the teachers and in most cases the people's co-operation is not such that a house for the teacher could

be got constructed by them. Only for Sevashram schools there is a provision for construction of the teacher's residence. 66.07 per cent of the teachers considered it as their main problem. This problem not only affects the proper functioning of schools but also disrupts the family life of the teachers. Lack of accommodation in the village of their posting compels them to live away from their families and maintain two establishments which is difficult for a low-paid persons like them. Similarly, due to absence of school building teachers are unable to conduct classes regularly because they have to depend upon the will and convenience of others.

Non-availability of facilities. There is no regular market in the Saora area from where they can purchase their daily necessities. There is no medical facility near the village from where they or their family members can get medical aids. 25 per cent of the teachers pointed out this problem. Some of them also pointed out that the life in the Saora area was very hard. They also felt that the Saora villages were unhealthy and they did not suit them. Due to all these difficulties the teachers are to go to the block headquarters or to distant market places more often. The parents of the Saora students pointed out that when the teachers go out to such places they are generally absent for days together which results in the closure of the schools.

Lack of communication facilities. Most of the Saora villages are not connected with roads, and even if some of them are connected with kucha roads, no bus plies on them. There are hardly a few villages situated on the main bus road that can be reached by bus. The only way to reach the Saora villages is to go on foot. As pointed out by 42.86 per cent of the teachers it is not the affair of one day, and, as such, teachers are not willing to take this trouble daily.

Some of the teachers said that since the Saora area is virtually cut off from outside, there is no scope for them to improve knowledge and efficiency lack of which stand in the way of their promotions.

Low attendance of students. As the attendance of the Saora students in the schools is poor, 30.36 per cent of the teachers felt that they did not like to continue to work there.

Unknown language. 32.14 per cent of the teachers felt that teachers from outside the Saora area did not like to serve in the Saora villages because they could not speak Saora dialect and hence felt difficulty in conversing with the people and the students.

Lack of co-operation. Some of the teachers pointed out that they did not want to work in the Saora villages as they did not get the co-operation from the villagers. Only 4.92 per cent teachers said that they got co-operation in the Saora villages, whereas 54.10 per cent of the teachers said that they did not get any co-operation at all, and 40.98

per cent got co-operation only partially. The co-operation of the villagers is not satisfactory but, if we also consider the performance of the teachers, it would appear that if the schools run properly and teachers try to establish good relationships with the villagers by their sympathetic approach and regularity in conducting the classes, they may certainly get better co-operation. In one of the sample villages the teacher was very much liked by the villagers. They used to come to him with their personal problems for his advice and he received full co-operation from them. He was provided with a residence and the school building was also in good condition.

Religious barriers. Some of the teachers pointed out that one of the problems for them is the religious barriers and social distance maintained by the Saora. Most of the teachers are Pano who are Dom and considered untouchables by the Saora. The Saora do not like the Dom teachers to enter their houses and are not prepared to accommodate a Pano teacher in their houses. The Pano who have been converted to Christianity also face this problem in villages where only the non-Christian Saora live.

Transfer of Teachers

98.36 per cent of the teachers and 100 per cent of the officers working in the Saora area said that the duration of stay of teachers at a particular place should not be long, but they should also not be transferred frequently. The reason behind this is that the Saora and their children take some time to get themselves acquainted with the teacher. The teacher also takes time to adjust himself with the new environment of the Saora villages and gain the confidence of the people and the students. When the teacher just starts to establish himself in the village he is transferred. A new teacher arrives and the whole process is repeated again. The teacher also gets dissatisfied with frequent transfers because he is unable to show any concrete work at any particular place. This frequent transfer is not only applicable to the teachers posted in the Saora area but also to the non-tribal area. 93.94 per cent teachers and 96.97 per cent parents in Puri district said that the teachers should not be transferred frequently in the interest of education of the students. Some of the villagers favoured the longer stay of only good teachers, who could run the school efficiently and regularly. A counter argument given in favour of frequent transfer of teachers is that if they stay for long periods in one village they get involved in local politics and pay less attention to the education of the students.

36.07 per cent of the teachers working in the Saora area said that the maximum stay for a teacher in a village should be three years, whereas 24.59 per cent of them said that this should be five years. Of the officers working in the Saora area 36.37 per cent favoured the stay of a teacher

for five years in a village and the same percentage favoured for three years. Only 8.19 per cent of the teachers and 9.09 per cent of officers said that this should be two years. Regarding the minimum stay of a teacher in a village, 54.09 per cent of the teachers and 45.46 per cent of the officers said that this should be two years and 31.16 per cent of the teachers and 36.37 per cent of the officers said that it should be three years. In Puri district a maximum stay of three and five years was favoured by 15.15 per cent and 48.48 per cent teachers respectively while the minimum stay of two and three years was favoured by 18.18 per cent and 51.52 per cent teachers respectively. Of the parents of Puri district 63.64 per cent said that the duration of stay of a teacher should be between two to three years and 30.30 per cent favoured four to five years. Thus the general feeling was that the teacher should be allowed to stay in a village for two to five years.

Emoluments and Service Conditions of Teachers

The emoluments and incentive to the teachers are also important factors in increasing or diminishing their efficiency. There are different scales of pay for untrained, trained, matriculate and undermatric teachers. There is a separate and better scale of pay for the teachers of Ashram and Sevashram schools who are also provided with residential accommodations. The emoluments paid to the primary school teachers are not good to satisfy them. The meagre salary of the primary school teachers, it was reported, leads to their involvement in other activities such as doing some business, exploiting the Saora, selling books and milk powder and the like. A lady teacher posted in one of the sample villages was seen trading with the Saora in dried fish, tobacco and other daily necessities. She bartered these things against paddy and sold it in the market. The villagers complained that she was more interested in her business than in teaching.

As the sample blocks of the Saora area fall under the Ganjam Agency Area, the teachers working there get Agency allowance of 10 per cent of their basic pay. This allowance is more in case of the teachers working in the Kutiya Kondh pilot project area of Koraput district who have to face the same kind of hardship as in the Saora area. This discrimination naturally tells upon the interest and initiative of teachers working in the Saora area.

In some of the states the teachers and others working in the remote tribal areas are given 50 per cent extra leave. This is given because the teachers coming from outside and working in the tribal area have to spend much time on way home and again coming back. No such extra leave is given to the teachers working in the Saora area and hence people from outside the Saora area may not prefer to work in the Saora area.

Sometimes the teacher proceeding on leave has to wait for his reliever for days together.

There is not much scope for the promotion of these teachers. There are a few teachers who have been promoted to Assistant Sub-Inspector of Schools after passing matriculation examination. Such cases can be found in the non-tribal area where there are facilities for increasing one's efficiency and qualifications, but in the Saora area even if a teacher wishes to appear at the matriculation examination, there is no facility for his study. There is no opportunity for a primary school teacher to be promoted as a teacher in the middle or high school as better qualified teachers are needed there. Most of the teachers appointed in a purely temporary capacity remain so for a long time and there is a feeling of insecurity of service among them. Such low emoluments, low social status, lack of incentive and insecurity of service do not motivate the teachers for giving better education to the students.

Availability of Teachers

One of the important causes of the slow progress of education in the Saora area is the lack of good teachers. The teachers from non-tribal areas are not willing to work in the Saora area due to various problems and language difficulty they have to face. Thus the local persons who know Saora dialect and even read up to middle standard are appointed. There are hardly a few teachers from the Saora community. There is a dire need of educating the Saora children and preparing a team of their own to teach their children. Non-availability of teachers can also be avoided by giving adequate incentive to teachers.

CHAPTER FIVE

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AND MOTHER TONGUE

'THERE are 212 tribes in India speaking an equal, if not more, number of dialects, most of which are in the rudimentary stage. Not much has been done to build up a written tribal literature and preserve the dialects. It is generally known that the tribal life is rich in folklore, folktales, mythology etc. and these could provide enough material to build up a substantial tribal literature. Some myths and folk-songs have been collected by research workers but these remain confined to the intelligentsia and hitherto have been used for academic and research purposes only. It is necessary to popularise them by publishing them in tribal and regional languages and make them available to the common man.

'The regional languages of the states are making greater headway compared to the tribal languages which at many places are being neglected. At some places in Madhya Pradesh the present generation has even forgotten Gondi language and it is on the verge of extinction there. This situation may obtain in other states also if enough attentions is not paid to preserve and develop the tribal languages. It is generally suggested that the tribal languages are not well-developed, that any undue importance need not be given them, and that in due course they will all disappear. It is hardly sympathetic and practical to suggest that 30 million tribal people of India should be made to forget their mother tongue and speak a tongue unknown to them through which they cannot express themselves. Tribal languages also represent the cultural heritage of India and we cannot afford to have a wanton destruction of its so many and so varied languages. Such a step is hardly conducive to the idea of integration which is so dear to us. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to preserve and develop the tribal dialects and popularise them.'[1]

According to The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Orders, 1956, there are 62 tribal communities in Orissa who speak as many as 26 different languages and dialects including Oriya, Telugu and Hindi, as recorded in Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Part II A (Orissa). The Saora of Orissa have their own dialect which is one of the Austro-Asiatic languages. The table given below shows the number of persons speaking Saora.

Table V. 1. Number of persons speaking Saora[2]

State/districts	*No. of persons speaking Saora*	
	1951 Census	*1961 Census*
Orissa	1,91,401	2,10,981
Ganjam	1,17,240	1,14,301
Koraput	53,565	55,418
Puri	—	82

In 1951, there were 1,91,401 persons in Orissa who spoke Saora. In 1961 this number rose to 2,10,981. Thus there was an increase of 19,580 persons, that is, 10.2 per cent in 10 years. Similarly, in Koraput district the number of Saora speakers rose from 53,565 persons in 1951 to 55,418 in 1961, showing an increase of 1,853 persons. This increase is natural over a period of 10 years. But in Ganjam the position is not so. In 1951, the number of persons who spoke Saora was 1,17,240, and in 1961 the number came down to 1,14,301, that is, there was a decrease of 2,939 persons in 10 years. This decrease is explained by two factors: migration of the Saora to industrial and other areas, and identification of a section of the tribe with the non-tribal people of Orissa. Once its members get education, secure occupations other than cultivation and pick up Oriya cultural traits, they feel pride in getting their mother tongue recorded as Oriya rather than Saora.

Such tendency of social mobility is observed particularly among the Lanjia Saora living in Parlakhimedi sub-division. This, however, is not found among the Saora living in the interior villages.

Knowledge of Oriya of the Saora Students

To find out the knowledge of Oriya of the Saora students they, along with their parents, teachers, and officers were interviewed. As Oriya is the medium of instruction in the schools in the Saora area, it is wrongly assumed that the Saora students would know the regional language. Position, however, is quite different as revealed by the diagram given below.

Table V.2. Sources of learning Oriya

Blocks	*Number of students knowing Oriya*	*No. who learnt it in the school*	*No. who learnt it in the market or outside the village*	*No. who learnt it in the school, market and outside the village*
Gumma N=83	21 (25.30)	21 (100.00)	—	—
Rayagada N=16	14 (87.50)	14 (100.00)	—	—
Nuagada N=55	26 (47.27)	26 (100.00)	—	—
Gunupur N=38	17 (44 74)	12 (70.59)	1 (5.88)	4 (23.53)
Total N=192	78 (40.62)	73 (93.59)	1 (1.28)	4 (5.13)

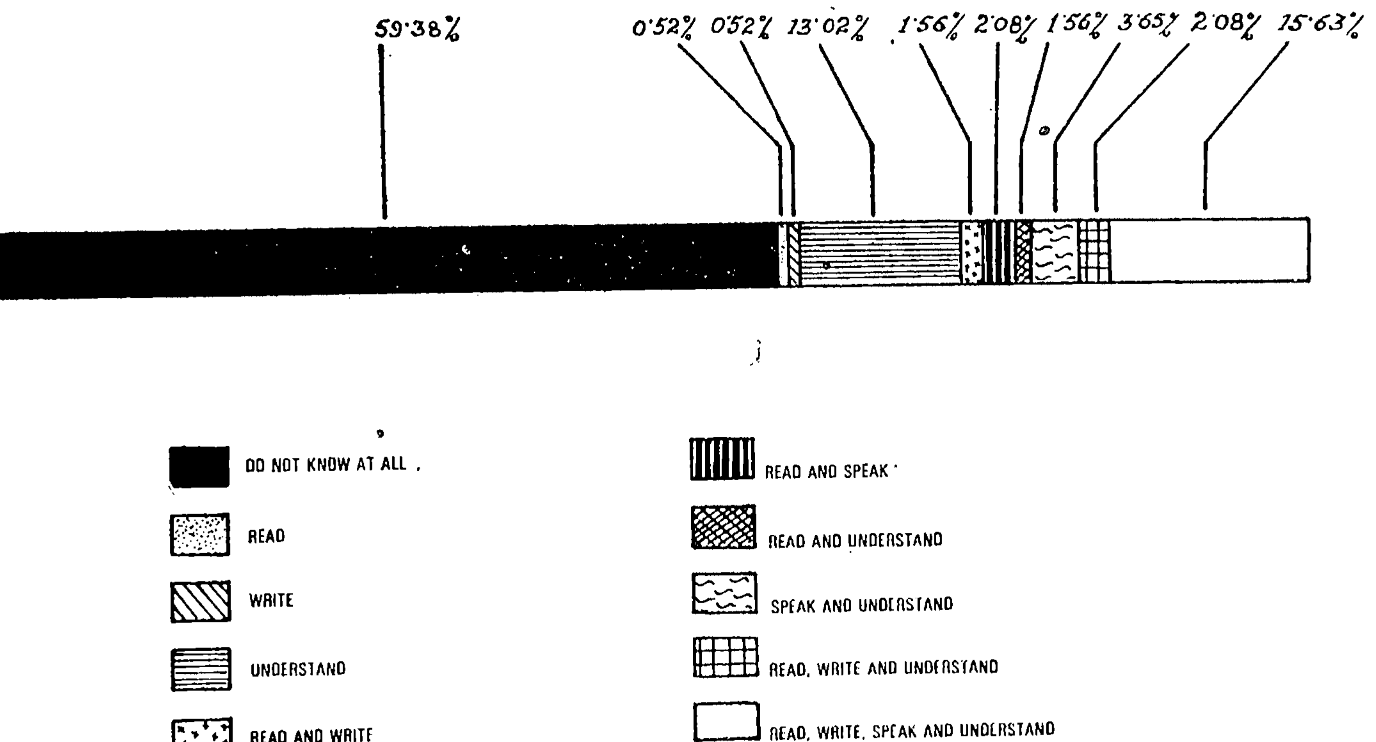

KNOWLEDGE OF ORIYA OF THE SAORA STUDENTS
59·38%
0·52%
0·52%
13·02%
1·56%
2·08%
1·56%
3·65%
2·08%
15·63%
DO NOT KNOW AT ALL
READ
WRITE
UNDERSTAND
READ AND WRITE
READ AND SPEAK
READ AND UNDERSTAND
SPEAK AND UNDERSTAND
READ, WRITE AND UNDERSTAND
READ, WRITE, SPEAK AND UNDERSTAND

FIG. 1

According to the responses given by the Saora students, 59.38 per cent of them did not know Oriya at all. In Gumma, which is a predominantly Saora area, as many as 74.70 per cent students did not understand Oriya at all. The Saora students who know Oriya, that is, those who could read, write, speak and understand were only 15.63 per cent. The rest 24.99 per cent of the students could either read or write or understand or speak only. Out of them 0.52 per cent could only read, 9.52 per cent could only write, 13.02 per cent could only understand, 1.56 per cent could read and write, 2.08 per cent could read and speak, 1.56 per cent could read and understand, 3.65 per cent could speak and understand, and only 2.08 per cent could read, write and understand. The maximum percentage of students who did not know Oriya at all was in Gumma block, that is, 74.70 per cent. Gunupur came next with 55.26 per cent, Nuagada and Rayagada blocks with 52.73 per cent and 12.50 per cent respectively. Of all the four blocks Rayagada was more in contact with the non-tribal people and areas which explains the low percentage of Saora students who did not know Oriya at all.

As the Saora students get very little opportunity to go outside the village and come in contact with the outsiders and learn Oriya, the main source of getting knowledge for the Saora students is school. 93.59 per cent of the students who knew Oriya learnt it in schools. 1.28 per cent learnt it in school as well as outside the village. It was found that those students who had some knowledge of Oriya, were students of class III, students reading in class I and II did not know Oriya at all. Similarly, as per responses given by the headmen of the villages, only 37.10 per cent of the students knew Oriya, while 62.90 per cent did not know at all. 77.78 per cent villagers of Gunupur said that the students did not understand Oriya at all. In Gumma 70.37 per cent, in Nuagada 55.56 per cent and in Rayagada 37.50 per cent villagers said that the students did not know Oriya at all. According to 16.13 per cent of the villagers schools have been helpful in imparting knowledge of Oriya to the students.

As most of the students do not understand the regional language, it becomes difficult to impart education through it. This fact was also observed during our visits to the Saora schools. The students reading in classes I and II did not understand Oriya at all. They did not know any other language except their own mother tongue. Even in class III most of the students did not understand what they were taught through Oriya. They picked up a few Oriya words but found it difficult to explain the meaning of the words. This problem was much more acute in the interior villages where the students of even class III could not read their text-books properly.

Time Lag in Learning Oriya and Following the Contents of Books

As the knowledge of Oriya of the Saora students is poor, difficulties

have been experienced in imparting education to them. This is one of the most important factors for not making headway in the field of education of the Saora students. Efforts were made to find out the time taken by the Saora students in following the regional language and the contents of books prescribed for them. In most of the sample Saora villages it was observed that the students did not understand Oriya at all. When a fresh Saora student is admitted to the school he does not follow Oriya at all and also does not pick up the alphabets in class I. · Students reading in classes I and II cannot read their books. A student of class III can also not read his books or the books of class II. A handful of students who can read their books are not able to tell the meaning of what they read. It indicates that the Saora students are not able to pick up Oriya even after three years of their schooling. They do not follow the contents of books even during class III. In this regard observation made by the teachers are important as they always face this difficulty and are well aware of this problem.

The observations of teachers were also taken into account regarding the speaking ability of the Saora students. 31.15 per cent teachers said that they had never heard the Saora students speaking Oriya. They emphasized that even the students reading in class III or IV were not able to speak Oriya fluently, or express their ideas to the teachers. Similarly, 45.90 per cent teachers said that the Saora students never talked in Oriya among themselves and 60.65 per cent said that they did not talk in Oriya with their parents even after passing class IV. In the course of interviewing the Saora students it was found that the students of even class III did not follow the questions in Oriya and reply to them in Oriya. They also said that they did not follow Oriya and hence our questions were conveyed through Saora and their responses also were obtained through the same medium. While discussing this problem with the people in the Saora area it was pointed out that the Saora students were not able to understand and speak Oriya even after passing class V.

Contents of Books

One of the important problems to study was the suitability of the contents of the text-books prescribed for the Saora students. Teachers working in the Saora area and students were the best judges to say whether the contents of these books were suitable for the students. 95.08 per cent of the teachers interviewed said that a fresh Saora student did not at all understand the contents of his books, 4.92 per cent teachers said that they followed only partially, but none of them said that they followed fully in the beginning. There may be several factors because of which they are unable to follow the contents of books written in Oriya.

Table given below indicates, according to the teachers, the time taken by the students in following partially or fully the contents of books.

Table V.3. Time taken by the Saora students in following partially and fully the contents of their books

Blocks	*Partially or fully*	*Time taken by the students*				
		Less than 1 year	*1 year*	*2 years*	*3 years*	*More than 3 years*
Gumma N=28	Partially	1 (3.57)	2 (7.15)	14 (50.00)	10 (35.71)	1 (3.57)
	Fully	—	1 (3.57)	—	8 (28.57)	19 (67.86)
Rayagada N=7	Partially	—	1 (14.28)	5 (71.44)	1 (14.28)	—
	Fully	—	—	1 (14.28)	2 (28.57)	4 (57.14)
Nuagada N=18	Partially	1 (5.56)	4 (22.23)	13 (72.21)	—	—
	Fully	—	1 (5.56)	2 (11.11)	7 (38.88)	8 (44 44)
Gunupur N=8	Partially	1 (12.50)	4 (50.00)	—	3 (37.50)	—
	Fully	—	1 (12.50)	1 (12.50)	—	6 (75.00)
Total N=61	Partially	3 (4.92)	11 (18.04)	32 (52 46)	14 (22.95)	1 (1.63)
	Fully	—	3 (4.92)	4 (6.56)	17 (27.87)	37 (60.65)

It is seen from the above table that 52.46 per cent teachers were of the opinion that only after two years the Saora students were able to follow the contents of their text-books partially, and 22.95 per cent teachers were of the opinion that they did so only after three years.

As regards their following the lessons fully, 27.87 per cent and 60.65 per cent opined that the students took three and more than three years respectively to follow the contents of books. 4.92 per cent teachers said that they took one year and 6.56 per cent said that they took two years to follow. Their observations were based on the understanding of the contents of the books shown by the students in different classes, and their performances.

It was observed during the field work that the students of even class III did not understand the contents of their books and the teacher had to repeat the same thing in both Oriya and broken Saora dialect, if he knew the latter. As the contents of books were alien to them, the students did not understand them even if the teacher explained several times. 95.08 per cent teachers and 90.91 per cent officers working in the Saora area felt that the books prescribed for the Saora students were not

suitable. This was one of the important reasons why the Saora students did not make progress as compared to the non-tribal students. This problem was studied from another angle also. Teachers were asked to express their opinions regarding the stage of schooling at which the Saora students started following fully the contents of their books. The table given below gives the exact position.

Table V.4. Stages at which the Saora students start understanding fully the contents of their books

Blocks	*During class I*	*During class II*	*During class III*	*After class III*
Gumma N=28	—	—	19 (67.85)	9 (32.15)
Rayagada N=7	—	—	7 (100.00)	—
Nuagada N=18	—	2 (11.11)	15 (83.33)	1 (5.56)
Gunupur N=8	—	1 (12.50)	7 (87.50)	—
Total N=61	—	3 (4 92)	48 (78.69)	10 (16 39)

78.69 per cent teachers said that the Saora students started following fully the contents of their books during class III, and 16.39 per cent said that they did so after class III. Only 4.92 per cent said that they started following during class II. None of them said that they followed during class I. Thus it is clear that the students started following the contents of their books only during the third year of their schooling. This is also corroborated by the responses given in table V. 4. The performance of the Saora students also substantiated this view. The standard of the Saora students was very poor as compared to that of the non-tribal students. The Saora students did not even know what was written in the books, not to speak of their knowledge of local history, geography or other subjects. But the non-tribal students knew every thing which was to be known. However, before the causes of the low educational standard of the Saora students are discussed, it is worthwhile discussing the stages of schooling from which they start giving responses in Oriya. The table given below gives the details.

Table V.5. Stages from which students start giving responses in Oriya

Blocks	*From class I*	*From class II*	*From class III*	*After class III*
Gumma N=28	—	2 (7.14)	20 (71.43)	6 (21.43)
Rayagada N=7	—	—	6 (85.71)	1 (14.29)
Nuagada N=18	—	—	17 (94.44)	1 (5-56)
Gunupur N=8	—	3 (37.50)	5 (62.50)	—
Total N=61	—	5 (8.19)	48 (78.69)	8 (13.12)

A majority of the Saora students cannot respond in Oriya for two to three years. 78.69 per cent teachers observed that only during the third year of their schooling, that is, in class III the Saora students started giving responses in Oriya. 13.12 per cent said that they did so only after class III.

It was observed that in most of the lower primary schools functioning in the Saora villages, students did not follow the teacher nor the contents of the books. They were not able to respond in Oriya. Even after passing class III they could hardly speak Oriya and could express themselves with great difficulty.

Officers working in the Saora area were also interviewed and were asked to give their observations on this subject. 72.73 per cent officers said that the Saora students did not at all follow the contents of their books in class I. Only 27.27 per cent said that the students followed partially. 9.09 per cent said that the students did not at all follow the contents even in class II while 90.91 per cent observed that the students followed only partially. 63.64 per cent were of the opinion that the students followed fully the contents only in class III whereas 56.36 per cent said that they followed only partially.

In the non-tribal area the students did not face any difficulty in understanding the contents of their books. In reply to other questions regarding the understanding of lessons and contents of books all the sample officers and teachers said that the Saora students did not follow the lessons and the contents of their text-books as easily and quickly as the non-tribal students did. They strongly felt that the text-books which were being used were not suitable to the Saora students. A number of reasons for not understanding the contents of their text-books by the Saora students were given by the officers and teachers.

Table V. 6. Reasons for not following the lessons and contents of books by the Saora students as reported by the teachers

Blocks	*Do not follow Oriya*	*Lack of intelligence*	*Lack of educational facilities*	*Environment of schools not suitable*
Gumma	27	3	—	1
N=28	(96.43)	(10.71)		(3.57)
Rayagada	7	1	1	2
N=7	(100.00)	(14.29)	(14 29)	(28.57)
Nuagada	17	1	1	—
N=18	(94.44)	(5.56)	(5.56)	
Gunupur	8	4	7	—
N=8	(100.00)	(50.00)	(87.50)	
Total	59	9	9	3
N=61	(96.73)	(14.75)	(14.75)	(4.92)

Reasons pointed out by officers and teachers working in the Saora area are identical. According to them the reasons of the Saora students not following the lessons or the contents of their text-books are as follows:

The Saora students do not follow Oriya. This reason was greatly emphasised by the respondents. 96.73 per cent teachers and 63. 4 per cent officers said that the Saora students did not follow the lessons and the contents of their text-books because they did not know Oriya. The text-books prescribed for both the Saora and the non-tribal students are the same, and they are in Oriya. The non-tribal students do not face any difficulty as Oriya is their mother tongue, and the Saora are placed at a disadvantage, and hence lag behind the non-tribal students.

They lack intelligence. 14.75 per cent teachers and 36.36 per cent officers said that the Saora students did not follow their lessons and the contents of their text-books because they were less intelligent as compared to the non-tribal students. But this opinion can be dismissed as based on superficial impressions. No scientific study has been undertaken to measure the intelligence of the Saora and other groups of non-tribal students, and, as such, it cannot be said that the Saora are less intelligent.

The Saora lack educational facilities. 14.75 per cent teachers and 48.45 per cent officers expressed the views that the Saora students did not follow their lessons and contents of their text-books because the educational facilities provided to them were inadequate. Though the facilities provided to the primary schools functioning in the non-tribal area and the Saora area are same, yet due to some local difficulties these provisions are not properly utilized in the Saora area. In the non-tribal area, villagers also contribute to the successful functioning of schools and help the teachers, but in the Saora area this is not so. At many places it was found that the schools were not even equipped with the basic and minimum teaching aids like blackboards, chalks, maps, charts etc. This inadequacy naturally acts as an impediment to quick understanding of the lessons.

The Saora students evince a lack of interest in the contents of the text-books. 36.36 per cent officers pointed out that the Saora students did not follow their lessons and the contents of their text-books because they were not interested in the contents of their text-books. This is because the text-books do not project the cultural image of the Saora. The contents of books have no relevance to the Saora culture as they are drawn from a culture the traits of which are not understood by the Saora.

They are not interested in education. 27.27 per cent officers said that the Saora students were not interested in education and, as such, they did not pay attention to their lessons and hence did not follow them.

This point was also raised by the teachers. But if the Saora students are not interested in education it is because the text-books are not written in their mother tongue, their contents are not suitable to them and the instruction imparted is through an unknown language.

4.92 per cent teachers pointed out that due to unfavourable environment also the students did not follow their lessons and the contents of the books. This means that proper atmosphere does not prevail. But of all these reasons the one given in the beginning, that is, the students do not follow their lessons and contents of their text-books because they do not follow Oriya, sticks out as the most important reason. This has been emphasized by a majority of respondents. All other reasons are the outcome of this one. If the Soara students were given their lessons through their dialect they would have followed them much more easily and quickly than they do now.

Interest in and Attitude towards Oriya Language

The progress of students also depends upon their interest in learning the language which happens to be the medium of instruction. Efforts were made to study the interest of the Saora students in learning Oriya language and reading books written in it. For this purpose officers, teachers, parents and students were interviewed.

The Saora students and parents were asked about the former's reading habit and their interest in the contents of books in Oriya. 63.02 per cent students said that they never read books at home and 36.98 per cent said that they read only occasionally. Similarly, 61.29 per cent parents said that they never noticed their children reading at home. The reasons for not reading text-books at home are very simple as the students and parents explained. The books are written in Oriya and the contents of books are difficult to follow, so they do not get interest in reading them. 63.54 per cent students said that the contents of books were not at all interesting to them and hence they did not read. They also expressed their language difficulty. 36.46 per cent students who said that the books were interesting also said that they liked the books only because of the picture given in them and not because they followed their contents. The table given below gives the responses of students.

Table V. 7. Reading text-books at home

Blocks	*Read at home*	*Do not read at home*
Gumma N=83	34 (40.96)	49 (59.04)
Rayagada N=16	3 (18.75)	13 (81.25)
Nuagada N=55	16 (29.09)	39 (70.91)

Gunupur N=38	18 (47.37)	20 (52.63)
Total N=192	71 (36.98)	121 (63.02)
Gop N=104	93 (89.42)	11 (13.58)
Khandpara N=52	46 (88.46)	6 (11.54)
Total N=156	46 (89.11)	6 (10.89)

In the Saora area only 36.98 per cent students read books at home while 63.02 per cent did not do so. But in Puri district 89.11 per cent students said that they read books at home while only 10.89 per cent students said that they did not do so because most of them did not have books. The books are not supplied to the non-tribal students free of cost and some of the poor students could not purchase the same. The difference in the percentage of the Saora and the non-tribal students not reading books at home is evidence enough to show that the Saora students do not show as high a performance as the non-tribal students because they do not read at home due to the reasons given before.

Teachers working in the Saora area also made their observations regarding the period when the Saora students started taking interest in reading books written in Oriya. 80.33 per cent teachers observed that the interest in reading books began only in class IV, whereas 9.84 per cent and 9.83 per cent teachers were of the opinion that the interest started from class II and IV respectively but none of the teachers said that the students started taking interest from class I itself. This observation seems quite logical and consistent with the earlier observations that the Saora students start understanding the contents of their books from class III onwards.

In response to another question regarding the Saora students' interest in learning Oriya, 8.19 per cent teachers said that the students, even though reading in class IV or V, did not have any interest in learning Oriya. 83.61 per cent teachers observed that only from class III they started taking interest in learning this language, 3.28 per cent and 4.92 per cent teachers observed that interest among the Saora students started from class II and class IV respectively. 9.09 per cent officers, on the basis of their experience, said that the Saora students did not show any interest in learning Oriya. About speaking Oriya also, it was observed that they did not have interest in it. 63.64 per cent officers observed that the students did not talk in Oriya among themselves.

In response to the question regarding the feeling of the Saora students for Oriya language in general, 80.33 per cent teachers said, on the basis of their day-to-day observation and experience, that the Saora students

did not feel that Oriya was also their language. Only 19.67 per cent teachers said that there was a feeling among them that Oriya also was their language and they should learn it. They also explained that this feeling prevailed among them only because they knew that they lived in Orissa and hence due to its practical utility in every walk of life, they must learn it. The table given below indicates the reasons, as given by parents, for learning Oriya by their children.

Table V. 8. Reasons for learning Oriya

Blocks	*To get jobs*	*Not to be exploited*	*For know-ledge sake*	*Practical utility*
Gumma	16	17	6	8
N=27	(52.26)	(62.96)	(22.22)	(29.63)
Rayagada	4	3	1	2
N=8	(50.00)	(37.50)	(12.50)	(25.00)
Nuagada	11	8	5	5
N=18	(61.11)	(44.44)	(27.78)	(27.78)
Gunupur	5	7	2	4
N=9	(55.56)	(77.78)	(22.22)	(44.44)
Total	36	35	14	18
N=62	(58.10)	(56.45)	(22.58)	(30.64)

Though the parents want that their children should be taught through their mother tongue, some of them also want them to learn Oriya for some very good and practical reasons. 58.10 per cent parents who were interviewed in this connection wanted that their children should learn Oriya to get some jobs and thereby earn money. 56.45 per cent said that knowledge of Oriya was essential to avoid their exploitation at the hands of the Pano and other petty traders. 22.58 per cent and 30.64 per cent wanted their children to learn Oriya simply for the sake of knowledge and for practical utility respectively.

Teachers also gave their views on this aspect. 65 per cent teachers said that the Saora children learnt Oriya for its practical utility. 25 per cent said that they learnt Oriya under compulsion, while only 10 per cent said that they learnt it simply because they were interested in learning it.

Can Saora Dialect be introduced as Medium of Instruction ?

After going into the details of the problems of medium of instruction and mother tongue and the students' ability to follow the contents of the books and lessons, it becomes necessary to consider whether the Saora dialect can be introduced as the medium of instruction or as a subject keeping in view the possible effects of its introduction on the Saora and non-tribal students. For this purpose a number of students, parents,

teachers and officers in the Saora area were interviewed. The two tables given below give the details.

Table V. 9. Languages preferred as media of instruction by parents and students.

Blocks	*Categories of respondents*	*Preference for the first three years*			*Preference after the first three years*		
		Saora	*Saora and Oriya*	*Oriya*	*Saora*	*Saora and Oriya*	*Oriya*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Gumma	Students N=83	44 (53.01)	33 (39.76)	6 (7.23)	1 (1 20)	59 (71.09)	23 (27.71)
	Parents N=27	11 (40.74)	9 (33.33)	7 (25.93)	1 (3.70)	15 (55.56)	11 (40.74)
Rayagada	Students N=16	—	15 (93.75)	1 (6.25)	—	15 (93.75)	1 (6.25)
	Parents N=8	1 (12.50)	4 (50.00)	3 (37.50)	1 (12 50)	2 (25.00)	5 (62.50)
Nuagada	Students N=55	9 (16.36)	46 (83.64)	—	1 (1.82)	20 (36.36)	34 (61.82)
	Parents N=18	2 (11.11)	12 (66.67)	4 (22.22)	—	9 (50.00)	9 50.00)
Gunupur	Students N=38	—	37 (97.37)	1 (2.63)	—	11 (28,95)	27 (71.05)
	Parents N=9	—	8 (88.89)	1 (11.11)	—	1 (11.11)	8 (88.89)
Total	Students N=192	53 (27.60)	131 (68.23)	8 (4.17)	2 (1.04)	105 (54.69)	85 (44.27)
	Parents N=62	14 (22.58)	33 (53.23)	15 (24.19)	2 (3.23)	27 (43.54)	33 (53.23)

Table V. 10. Teachers' suggestions regarding medium of instruction in primary schools

Blocks	In class I		In class II			In class III	
	Saora	Saora and Oriya	Saora	Saora and Oriya	Oriya	Saora and Oriya	Oriya
Gumma	27	1	6	20	2	19	9
N=28	(96.43)	(3.57)	(21.33)	(71.43)	(7.14)	(67.86)	(32.14)
Rayagada	5	2	1	6	—	6	1
N=7	(71.43)	(28.57)	(14.29)	(85.71)		(85·71)	(14.29)
Nuagada	12	6	—	17	1	5	13
N=18	(66.67)	(33.33)		(94.44)	(5.56)	(27.78)	(72 22)
Gunupur	3	5	—	7	1	2	6
N=8	(37.50)	(62.50)		(87.50)	(12.50)	(25.00)	(75.00)
Total	47	14	7	50	4	32	29
N=61	(77.05)	(22.95)	(11.48)	(81.96)	(6.56)	(52.46)	(47.54)

The tables given above indicate the strong desire of the students, parents and teachers for introducing Saora dialect in the lower primary stage. 27.60 per cent students expressed their desire to read only through the medium of Saora during the first three years, whereas 68.23 per cent students wanted to read through both Saora and Oriya. It means that, in all, 95.83 per cent students wanted that Saora should be introduced as medium of instruction in the first three years of their schooling. Similarly 22.58 per cent parents wanted that their children should be taught only through the medium of Saora for the first three years, while 53.23 per cent parents wanted that their children should be taught through the media of both Saora and Oriya. Thus, in all, 75.81 per cent parents desired that Saora should be introduced in the first three classes. Only 4.17 per cent students and 24.19 per cent parents were in favour of Oriya being the medium of instruction in the lower primary classes. After class III, comparatively more emphasis was given on Oriya. However, 54.69 per cent students and 43.54 per cent parents wanted that the former should read both Saora and Oriya even after three years of their schooling. 1.04 per cent students and 3.23 per cent parents wanted that only Saora may be taught. 44.27 per cent students and 53.23 per cent parents favoured teaching through Oriya only after three years of schooling. This, according to them, may facilitate easy learning of Oriya by them. The main motive behind the desire to introduce both Saora and Oriya in a particular class was that, they felt that if Saora with equivalent words in Oriya was taught the students would gradually learn Oriya. It was observed that the students and parents who favoured introduction of Oriya had the only consideration that the knowledge of Oriya was necessary because of its practical utility in day-to-day life.

The teachers working in the Saora area who are the best judges of the performances of their students who are taught through a language

which is not their own, have also given their views regarding the medium of instruction at the primary standard. And their views should carry more weight because they are conversant with the problem and observe the difficulty of their students from very close quarters. Parents may be motivated by several socio-economic factors to educate their children through Oriya but the teachers' opinion must be viewed most dispassionately. As many as 77.05 per cent teachers were of the opinion that the medium of instruction in class I should be only Saora and no other language should be taught in this class, 22.95 per cent teachers said that both Oriya and Saora might be taught in class I. None of them said that only Oriya should be taught in class I. Thus all the teachers felt that in class I the Saora students should invariably be taught either through Saora dialect only or through both Saora and Oriya. 81.96 per cent teachers felt that the Saora students should be taught through both Saora and Oriya in class II. 11.48 per cent teachers felt that even in class II only Saora should be taught, while only 6.56 per cent teachers said that teaching might be imparted though Oriya only. In all 93.44 per cent teachers favoured the introduction of either only Saora or Saora and Oriya in class II. Regarding the medium of instruction in class III, more than half of the teachers, that is, 52.46 per cent said that it might be their mother tongue along with Oriya, 47.54 per cent teachers thought that they might be taught through Oriya only but none of the teachers felt the necessity of teaching the Saora students only through Saora dialect in class III.

All the officers working in the Saora area were of the opinion that it was necessary to introduce Saora dialect as medium of instruction in the lower primary standard as then the Saora students would understand their lessons easily and better.

The schools which have only Saora students may not face any difficulty in giving lessons through Saora dialect, but it would be difficult to do so for those schools which have Saora and Oriya speaking students evenly distributed in classes. Opinions on this aspect were also invited from the teachers and officers working in the Saora area. 95.08 per cent teachers and 81.81 per cent officers held the opinion that the Saora and non-tribal students should study together in the same school, if possible. This, according to them, may help the Saora students pick up Oriya easily. Only 4.92 per cent teachers and 18.19 per cent officers said that the Saora and non-tribal students should read in separate schools.

The medium of instruction in a school with mixed Saora and non-tribal students where the number of students of both the communities is equal, might, according to 26.23 per cent teachers and 54.55 per cent officers, be both Saora and Oriya. But 73.77 per cent teachers and 45.45 per cent officers said that it might be only Oriya. In a school where

the number of Saora students is more than that of non-tribal students, 88.53 per cent teachers and 81.82 per cent officers said that the media of instruction might be Saora and Oriya both. 1.64 per cent teachers said that under such circumstances only Saora dialect might be the medium of instruction. Only 9.83 per cent teachers and 18.18 per cent officers preferred only Oriya to be the medium of instruction. In the school where the number of Saora students is less than that of the non-tribal students, the medium of instruction according to 96.72 per cent teachers and 63.64 per cent officers might be only Oriya. Only 3.28 per cent teachers and 36.36 per cent officers said that Saora and Oriya both might be introduced as the media of instruction.

The officers advanced several reasons for introducing these languages as media of instruction at the primary level. The reason for introducing both Saora and Oriya is obvious. This will impart knowledge of both the languages to the students of both the communities. According to this arrangement better representation of students from both the Saora and non-tribal communities is expected. This will also create an interest in education among the Saora students, and is likely to make education easier for them.

The reasons for introducing Oriya only in the composite schools with the Saora and non-tribal students were advanced in order to have common teaching facilities for both and to avoid discrimination between students of different communities. With the introduction of only Oriya language, it was suggested, the Saora students will have to learn only one language which they may do easily. But this reason does not seem to be convincing as this practice is already existing and some of the schools have been functioning for the last 30 to 40 years in the same village but the percentage of literacy in that village is still negligible. The progress of the Saora students is very poor as compared to the non-tribal students.

The teachers and officers also gave their views on the impact of introduction of Saora dialect on the outlook and understanding of the Saora students. 98.36 per cent teachers and cent percent officers said that the introduction of Saora dialect would enable the Saora students to understand their lessons better. This would make their lessons easier for them. 98.36 per cent teachers and cent percent officers were of the opinion that introducing the Saora dialect as medium of instruction would certainly help the Saora students in understanding their culture better. Some of the values and traits like simplicity, honesty, co-operation among the members, and community feeling etc. have been adversely affected by their coming into contact with the outsiders. If education through Saora dialect and text-books containing their own cultural material are introduced, they will certainly help the Saora children to

understand the values of their own culture. 96.72 per cent teachers and 90.09 per cent officers emphasized that this would also create interest for reading and writing in the Saora students.

In order to have a comparative study, the students, parents and teachers of Puri district were also asked similar questions. Most of the students of Gop block did not know about the tribal people as it has no tribal population, but in Khandpara block which has some tribal population the students had some knowledge about the tribal students. 74.36 per cent students and 72.73 per cent parents had no objection to the non-tribal students reading along with Saora students. But they expressed certain apprehensions. 100 per cent parents and 80.13 per cent students said that the latter may face language difficulty if the Saora dialect is introduced and thus according to 8.33 per cent parents and 10.90 per cent students they cannot follow their lessons. 4.17 parents and 1.28 per cent students said that they might not be able to converse with the tribal students. Besides, 6.41 per cent, 0.64 per cent and 0.46 per cent students also pointed out that the tribal children were untouchables, thieves and beat the non-tribal children respectively, so they would not like to read with them in the same school. The parents, however, pointed out that there was no difference between a tribal and a non-tribal child. They also showed their helplessness in deciding policy regarding the medium of instruction in schools of the Saora area or mixed schools. They thought that whatever educational policy was framed by the government, they would have to respect it. Hence, they would not feel any difficulty in sending their childern to the school where the tribal children were also reading and where the medium of instruction was Saora dialect.

24.24 per cent of the teachers working in the non-tribal area of Puri district said that in the composite schools where the number of Saora students was more, Saora dialect could be introduced as the medium of instruction, whereas 75.76 per cent teachers were not in favour of introducing Saora dialect in composite schools. This was only because of the fact that most of these teachers did not have any first hand experience of the Saora or other tribes and they also did not know the Saora dialect. Only 18.18 per cent teachers of Gop block which has no tribal population said that Saora dialect can be introduced as medium of instruction if the school had a majority of Saora students, whereas 36.36 per cent teachers of Khandpara block which has some tribal population were in favour of introducing Saora dialect as medium of instruction in composite schools. The teachers, however, pointed out some difficulties in regard to introduction of Saora dialect. The main difficulties according to them might be the non-availability of teachers knowing Saora dialect, non-availability of text-books, and holding separate classes leading to increase in teaching staff.

The teachers working in the Saora area strongly favoured the introduction of Saoro dialect in primary schools where all or a majority of the students were Saora. However, they also mentioned that there might be some difficulties in preparation of text-books only in the begining, but this can easily be overcome.

Can Saora Dialect be introduced as a Subject ?

The possibility and the effect of introducing Soara dialect as a subject at the primary stage was also studied. 72.73 per cent officers working in the Soara area favoured the idea of introducing Soara dialect as a subject. The main reason pointed out by 75 per cent officers who favoured introduction of Saora dialect as a subject was that this might create an interest for education among the Saora students. 25 per cent officers who felt the necessity of introducing Saora dialect as a subject said that this might help in better understanding of their lessons. This may also help the Saora students fetch more marks in the subject which may help in their promotion to next class. 12.50 per cent officers pointed out that introduction of Saora dialect would provide opportunities for the non-Saora knowing persons to learn it and the Saora way of life. The teachers of Puri district were also asked some questions relating to this aspect. 45.45 per cent of them pointed out that this could be introduced as a subject. Only 27.27 per cent teachers of Gop block favoured the introduction of Saora dialect as a subject, 81.82 per cent teachers of Khandpara block who had some knowledge of the problems faced by the Saora students said that the same might be done to help the Saora students do better in the schools. Of the teachers who were in favour of this, 53.33 per cent said that this should be introduced in classes I to III and 46.67 per cent wanted it in classes I to V. They again pointed out that there may be difficulty in getting adequate number of teachers knowing Saora dialect and text-books.

In the Saora area 27.27 per cent of the officers did not favour the introduction of Saora dialect as a subject. The main reason pointed out by the 33.33 per cent officers who did not favour introduction of the Saora dialect as a subject was that, when this was introduced as the medium of instruction, there was no need of teaching it as a subject because medium of instruction itself would help the Saora students in understanding their lessons better and doing well in their examinations. 33.33 per cent of such officers said that teachers knowing Saora, and text-books in Saora dialect might not be available, while 33.33 per cent of them said that it might create some problems in the future.

Some Problems which may arise if Saora Dialect is Introduced

Efforts were made to identify some of the important problems which might arise if Saora dialect was introduced as medium of instruction or

a subject. One of the most important problems which might arise is the non-availability of teachers knowing Saora dialect.

90.91 per cent officers and 37.71 per cent teachers working in the Saora area pointed out this problem. As the percentage of educated Saora is negligible, it is difficult to get teachers from their community. However, 60 per cent officers said that such teachers may be made available in due course. In response to another question all the officers expected that after getting proper education the Saora community might be able to throw up sufficient number of teachers. 70 per cent officers and 62.29 per cent teachers also thought that teachers from non-tribal communities knowing Saora could be made available. 80 per cent officers and 95.66 per cent teachers pointed out that teachers might be taught Saora dialect and then appointed. Hence the problem of non-availability of teachers knowing Saora could be solved to a great extent, according to them.

The other probable problem which may arise is that of text-books in Saora dialect. This difficulty may be faced in the beginning only but, in due course, it can also be overcome. 90.91 per cent officers and 86.89 per cent teachers said that the text-books could be locally prepared by the non-tribal people who were conversant with the Saora dialect and their culture. Some of the teachers know Saora dialect and if they are given suitable incentive and encouragement they may be able to produce suitable text-books. This is not a new step to be taken in the Saora area because the Christian missions have already been doing this.

Relative Achievement of Saora Students in, and Attitude of Parents towards, the Regional Language

The teachers and officers working in the Saora area raised several points regarding the performance of the Saora and non-tribal students. 100 per cent officers said that the Saora students did not follow their lessons as easily as the non-tribal students did. 98.36 per cent teachers working in the Saora area said that they found a good deal of difference in the performances between the Saora and the non-tribal students. The performance of the latter was certainly much better than that of the former. In Puri, Ganjam and Koraput districts these differences were observed. The students of Gop and Khandpara blocks were far better than the Saora students of Ganjam, Rayagada, Nuagada and Gunupur blocks in their knowledge of the local history, geography and other subjects, and in the general comprehension of a given thing. This was due to various factors like the Saora students not fallowing the lessons imparted through the regional language, their poor economic condition which always kept them engaged in their cultivation and did not give them time to read at home, irregular functioning of the schools'

unsuitable contents of their books and lukewarm attitude of the parents in sending their children to schools regularly, and so on.

The teachers in Puri district also expressed their views on this subject. 66.67 per cent teachers felt that the performance of the Saora students was not as good as that of the non-tribal students. As the teachers of Gop block had lesser experience of the tribes, only 59.09 per cent of them could say that there was any difference between them, whereas 81.82 per cent teachers of Khandpara block who had the experience of teaching the tribal children observed this difference as indicated in the table give below.

Table V. 11. Performance of the Saora and non-tribal students

Blocks	*Performance of Saora students as good as that of non-tribal students*	*Performance of Saora students not as good as that of non-tribal students*	*Reasons for such a performance of the Saora students*			
			Oriya is medium of instruction	*Worse economic condition*	*Lack of persuasion and follow up by the Saora parents*	*Lack of better environment*
Gop	9	13	9	7	6	1
N=22	(40.91)	(59.09)	(69.23)	(53.85)	(46.15)	(7.69)
Khandpara	2	9	2	5	8	—
N=11	(18.18)	(81.82)	(22.22)	(55.56)	(88.89)	
Total	11	22	11	13	14	1
N=33	(33.33)	(66.67)	(50.00)	(54.55)	(63.64)	(4.55)

63.64 per cent of the teachers who observed this difference felt that it was due to lack of persuasion and follow up by the Saora parents. The Saora students according to them were not only irregular in attending their schools but also did not cultivate the habit of reading at home. 54.55 per cent of such teachers said that this difference was due to the poor economic condition of the Saora, and 50 per cent of them said that this was because Oriya was the medium of instruction. Thus it becomes clear that the educational performance of the Saora students is not as good as that of the non-tribal students.

We thus see that the knowledge of Oriya of the Saora students is very poor. The medium of instruction is Oriya, but the Saora students are not able to follow their lessons through it in the lower primary classes. The text-books prescribed for the Saora students are written in Oriya which they cannot read. The contents of text-books are not suitable as they are not related to their cultural traits. The teachers have to explain the con-

tents of books several times but the students find it difficult to follow them. As the contents of text-books are not interesting and the medium of instruction is Oriya, they have not been able to create interest in the students in education and cultivate the habit of reading the text-books at home by them. Hence one of the important causes for not following the lessons is that the text-books written in Oriya contain such material which are alien to the Saora students and with which they are not conversant. The environment of the schools is also not suitable. Thus most of the respondents favoured the introduction of Saora dialect as medium of instruction in the lower primary classes and as a subject in upper primary classes. The text-books may be written in Saora dialect with suitable contents drawn from the Saora culture. Some of the problems like unavailability of teachers knowing Saora dialect and text-books in Saora dialect were pointed out but these may be overcome with the help of the local teachers. The performance of the Saora students is not as good as that of the non tribal students as the Saora students are not taught through their mother tongue and the parents do not show any interest in their study at home.

CHAPTER SIX

WASTAGE AND FAILURE

THE problem of wastage is among the important reasons for the slow progress in the educational development of India. 'Wastage could be defined as the withdrawal or dropping out of a student before completing a given course. Generally when a student takes more than one year to pass a class it is considered a case of stagnation.'[1] Hence a student who is withdrawn from the school without completing a given course is a case of wastage. In the present study emphasis has been given on finding out the extent and causes of wastage and failure of students in the lower primary stage, that is, from class I to III. It is generally found that wastage is more in tribal areas compared to the non-tribal areas. In the Saora area very few students pass the lower primary examination. Thus it is more important to study the causes of wastage and failure at this level.

Extent of Wastage

The scientific method to find out the extent of wastage is to begin with a group of fresh entrants in class I and then follow the career of each of them till they pass class III. The number of students who do not pass class III, or leave the school during the course of these three years gives the extent of wastage. But due to several limitations and non-availability of properly maintained school records it was not possible to follow this method. Another method which is simpler was adopted to find out the extent of wastage. In this, one begins with the enrolment of students in class I and then follows it up to class III through three successive years. In this method the effects of stagnation are also mixed up with those of wastage. The assumption is that the enrolment of students in a given class is fresh, though, in fact, it may not be so because the enrolment in a class does not include only fresh entrants but also includes the number of repeaters. However, by this method also the extent of wastage can be found out. And, in absence of well documented data, this method was followed.

Table VI. 1. Extent of wastage

Enrolment and Wastage		*Names of the blocks of the Saora area*				
		Gumma	*Raya-gada*	*Nua-gada*	*Gunu-pur*	*Total*
Enrolment in class I	M	299	91	206	190	786
	F	133	44	87	44	308
	T	432	135	293	234	1,094
Enrolment in class II	M	207	42	73	54	376
	F	72	5	3	8	88
	T	279	47	76	62	464
Wastage between class I and cl. II	M	92	49	133	136	410
		(30.77)	(53.85)	(64.56)	(71.58)	(52.16)
	F	61	39	84	36	220
		(45.86)	(88.64)	(96.55)	(81.82)	(71.43)
	T	153	88	217	172	630
		(35.42)	(65.19)	(74.06)	(73.50)	(57.59)
Enrolment in class III	M	127	35	43	28	233
	F	20	—	2	1	23
	T	147	35	45	29	256
Wastage between class II and class III	M	80	7	30	26	143
		(38.65)	(16.67)	(41.10)	(48.15)	(38.03)
	F	52	5	1	7	65
		(72.22)	(100.00)	(33.33)	(87.50)	(73.86)
	T	132	12	31	33	208
		(47.31)	(25.53)	(40.79)	(53.23)	(44.83)
No. of those who passed class III	M	38	8	17	8	71
	F	8	—	—	—	8
	T	46	8	17	8	79
Wastage between those who were enrolled in class III and those who passed class III	M	89	27	26	20	162
		(70.08)	(77.14)	(60.47)	(71.43)	(69.53)
	F	12	—	2	1	15
		(60.00)	—	(100.0)	(100.0)	(65.22)
	T	101	27	28	21	177
		(68.71)	(77.14)	(62.22)	(72.41)	(69.14)
Total wastage between those enrolled in class I and those who passed class III	M	261	83	189	182	715
		(87.29)	(91.21)	(91.75)	(95.79)	(90.97)
	F	125	44	87	44	300
		(93.98)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(97.43)
	T	386	127	276	226	1,015
		(89.35)	(94,07)	(94.20)	(96.58)	(92.78)

Enrolment and Wastage		*Names of the blocks of Puri district*		*Total*
		Gop	*Khandpara*	
Enrolment in class I	M	397	374	771
	F	315	150	465
	T	712	524	1,236
Enrolment in class II	M	363	184	547
	F	251	60	311
	T	614	244	858
Wastage between class I and class II	M	34 (8.56)	190 (50.80)	224 (29.05)
	F	64 (20.31)	90 (60.00)	154 (33.12)
	T	98 (13.76)	280 (53.43)	378 (30.58)
Enrolment in class III	M	298	169	467
	F	198	38	236
	T	496	207	703
Wastage between class II and class III	M	65 (17.91)	15 (8.15)	80 (14.62)
	F	53 (21.12)	22 (36.67)	75 (24.11)
	T	118 (19.22)	37 (15.16)	155 (18.06)
No. of those who passed class III	M	208	96	304
	F	124	23	147
	T	332	119	451
Wastage between those who were enrolled in class III and those who passed class III	M	90 (30.20)	73 (43.20)	163 (34.90)
	F	74 (37.37)	15 (39.47)	89 (37.71)
	T	164 (33.06)	88 (42.51)	252 (35.85)
Total wastage between those enrolled in class I and those who passed class III	M	189 (46.61)	278 (74.33)	467 (60.57)
	F	191 (60.63)	127 (84.67)	318 (68.39)
	T	380 (53.37)	405 (77.29)	785 (63.51)

In the above table the number of students represent those on the rolls of the sample schools only. The enrolment figure of class I is for the year 1962-63 and those of classes II and III are for the year 1963-64 and 1964-65 respectively. It has been presumed that the group of students enrolled in class II in the year 1963-64 was the same as enrolled in class I in 1962-63 and that there was no fresh student admitted in class II from outside the school. Similarly, the students enrolled in class III in 1964-65 were the same who passed class II in 1963-64 and there was no fresh entrant in class III from outside the school. With the above presumption, wastage between class I and class II and between class II and class III was found out. The total wastage from class I to III, that is, in the lower primary stage, was also found out.

As per table given above, in the sample blocks of the Saora area, out of 1,094 students on the roll in class I only 464 were admitted to class II next year, the rest discontinued their studies before reaching class II. Thus wastage between class I and class II was 57.59 per cent. Analysing this figure sexwise it was seen that among the boy students it was 52.16 per cent and among the girl students 71.43 per cent. This shows that wastage among the girl students was one and a half times more than that among the boy students. It also shows that more than half of the students enrolled in class I were cases of wastage. It was observed during the field study and also reported by the people that teachers collected the Saora children in the beginning of the academic session and admitted them in class I. In the busy agricultural season most of the students discontinued their studies. The case of girl students was more serious. In the non-tribal area of Puri district wastage beetween class I and class II was only 30.58 per cent—29.05 per cent among the boys and 33.12 per cent among the girls. The percentage of wastage in the Saora area was almost double the percentage of wastage in Puri district. Among the girls the percentage in the Saora area was more than double the percentage of wastage among the girls of Puri district.

In the Saora area, out of 464 students on the roll in class II, only 256 reached class III next year. Wastage in this case was thus 44.83 per cent. Among the boys it was 38.03 per cent and among the girls 73.86 per cent. Thus at this stage also wastage was more among girls than among boys. Wastage between class II and class III was less than that between class I and class II. In Puri district wastage between class II and class III was 18.06 per cent. Among the boys it was 14.62 per cent

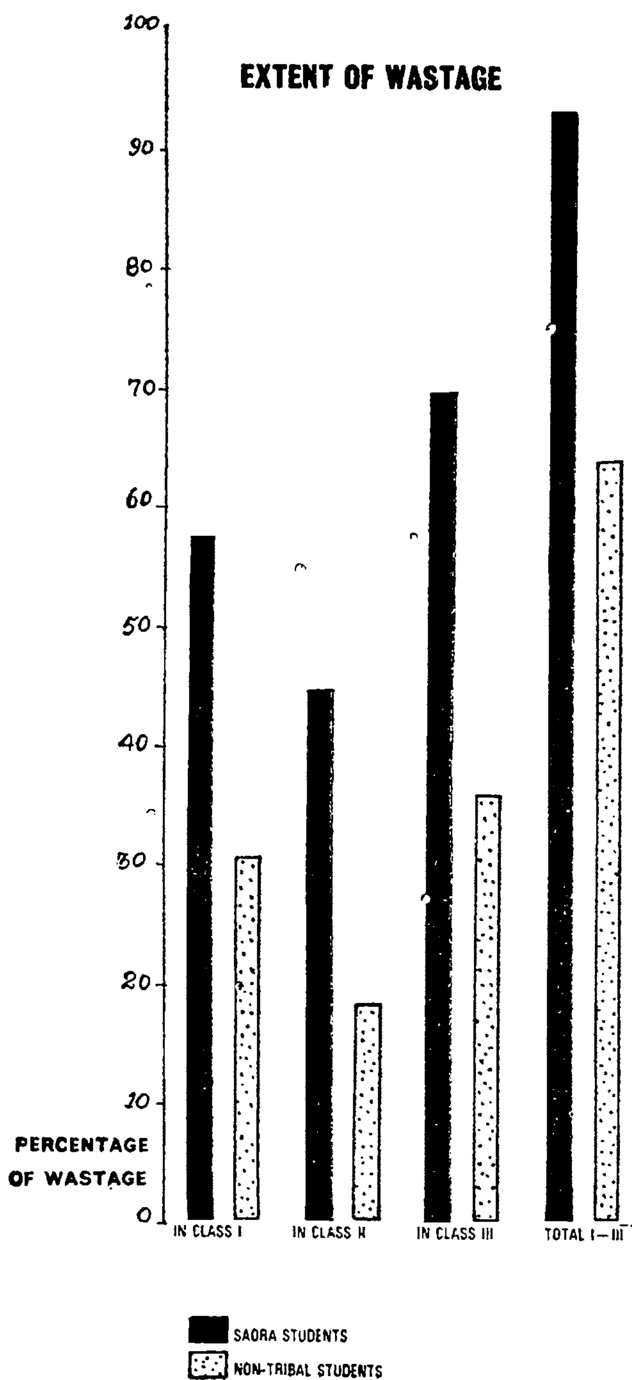

EXTENT OF WASTAGE
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
PERCENTAGE
OF WASTAGE
IN CLASS I
IN CLASS II
IN CLASS III
TOTAL I—III
SAORA STUDENTS
NON-TRIBAL STUDENTS

FIG. 2

and among the girls 24.11 per cent. As usual, it was more among the girls than among the boys. Thus the wastage between class II and class III in the Saora area was more than double the wastage in Puri district.

Similarly the percentage of wastage between the students on the roll in class III and those who passed class III was 69.14 percent in the Saora area. Among the boys it was 69.53 per cent and among the girls 65.22 per cent. Thus the percentage of wastage in the Saora area was more in class III as compared to the wastage between class I and class II, and between class II and class III. It was so because in class I and class II the Saora students could not help their parents much. But when they reached class III they were a little grown up and abler to help their parents and thus they were withdrawn from the school. In Puri district the wastage between the students on the roll in class III and those who passed class III was 35.85 per cent. In case of boy students it was 34.90 per cent and in case of girl students 37.71 per cent. The percentage of wastage between the students on the roll in class III and those who passed class III in the Saora area was about double the wastage in Puri district.

The extent of wastage assumed a serious proportion at the entire lower primary stage. In the Saora area, out of a total of 1,094 students on the roll in class I, only 79 passed class III in the third year which means that 1,015 Saora students were wasted. The total wastage at the lower primary stage in the Saora areas was thus 92.78 per cent. The wastage among the boys was 90.97 per cent and among the girls as high as 97.40 per cent. In Puri district, the total wastage at the lower primary standard was 63.51 per cent which was about two-thirds the wastage in the Saora area. Among the boys of Puri district the wastage was 60.57 percent and among the girls 68.39 per cent. Here also the wastage was more among the girls than among the boys.

Efforts were made to find out the rate of drop out of students in both the sample areas. For this purpose only those students were considered as cases of drop out who were admitted in a class but did not appear at the annual examination. The enrolment of students during the three years, that is, 1962-63, 1963-64 and 1964-65 was considered. The number of students who appeared in the annual examinations in the same years, was taken. Thus the number of students who dropped out was found out. The rate of drop out was found out classwise and also at the entire lower primary stage, that is, from class I to III. The rate of drop out was found out according to the following formula :

$$\text{Rate of drop out} = \frac{\text{Number of drop outs in the class}}{\text{Total enrolment in the class}} \times 100$$

The table given above shows that the rate of drop out in the Saora area in class I was 20.61 per cent whereas in Puri district it was only 16.01 per cent. Similarly, in class II in the Saora area it was 24.40 per cent which was more than the rate of drop out in class I. In Puri district it was only 8.21 per cent which was less than in class I. The rate in class II in the Saora area was almost treble the rate in Puri district. In class III it was 30.23 percent in the Saora area which was more than that in class II. In class III also the rate in the Saora area was more than the rate in Puri district. The rate of drop out at the lower primary standard was 23.03 per cent in the Saora area, but only 12.35 per cent in Puri district. In the Saora area the maximum rate of drop out was in class III and minimum in class I. But in Puri district the maximum was in class I and the minimum in class II.

Besides wastage and drop out, the causes of temporary withdrawal of the Saora students were also determined. For this purpose only those students were considered who discontinued their studies temporarily and after some time they again joined the school.

16.15 per cent of the sample students had discontinued their studies temporarily. 74.19 per cent of such students said that their parents had asked them to leave the school and help them. 6.45 per cent said that they had left the school because they did not find interest in it, 3.23 per cent each did so because they did not follow Oriya, because of illness, to work outside the village and because of having got married. 6.45 per cent students pointed out that they had been absent from the school for some time because there had been no teacher in the school.

Table VI. 2. Rate of drop out

Enrolment/ Appeared/ Drop out		*Names of the blocks of Saora area*					*Names of the blocks of Puri district*		
		Gumma	*Raya-gada*	*Nua-gada*	*Gunu-pur*	*Total*	*Gop*	*Khand-para*	*Total*
Enrolment in class I	M	839	214	651	457	2,161	1,093	904	1,997
	F	374	86	333	93	886	888	357	1,245
	T	1,213	300	984	550	3,047	1,981	1,261	3,242
Appeared in class I	M	690	185	534	349	1,758	972	668	1,640
	F	284	40	263	74	661	845	238	1,083
	T	974	225	797	423	2,419	1,817	906	2,723
Drop out in class I	M	149 (17.76)	29 (13.55)	117 (17.97)	108 (23.63)	403 (18.65)	121 (11.07)	236 (26.11)	357 (17.88)

	F	90	46	70	19	225	43	119	162
		(24.06)	(53.49)	(21.02)	(20.43)	(25.40)	(4.84)	(33.33)	(13.01)
	T	239	75	187	127	628	164	355	519
		(19.70)	(25.00)	(19.00)	(23.09)	(20.61)	(8.28)	(28.15)	(16.01)
Enrolment	M	565	128	262	131	1,086	1,064	524	1,588
in class II	F	200	29	39	23	291	776	146	922
	T	765	157	301	154	1,377	1,840	670	2,510
Appeared	M	437	93	212	94	836	968	470	1,438
in class II	F	126	24	33	22	205	745	121	866
	T	563	117	245	116	1,041	1,713	591	2,304
Drop out	M	128	35	50	37	250	96	54	150
in class II		(22.65)	(27.34)	(19.08)	(28.24)	(23.02)	(9.02)	(10.31)	(9.45)
	F	74	5	6	1	86	31	25	56
		(37.00)	(17.24)	(15.38)	(4.35)	(29.55)	(3.99)	(17.12)	(6.07)
	T	202	40	56	38	336	127	79	206
		(26.41)	(25.48)	(18.60)	(24.68)	(24.40)	(6.90)	(11.79)	(8.21)
Enrolment	M	394	86	136	51	667	909	467	1,376
in class III	F	78	4	4	2	88	570	86	656
	T	472	90	140	53	755	1,479	553	2,032
Appeared	M	261	58	111	33	463	807	372	1,179
in class III	F	54	4	3	2	63	549	68	617
	T	315	62	114	35	526	1,356	440	1,796
Drop out	M	133	28	25	18	204	102	95	197
in class III	F	(33.76)	(32.56)	(18.38)	(35.29)	(30.58)	(11.22)	(20.32)	(14.32)
		24	—	1	—	25	21	18	39
		(30.77)		(25.00)		(28.41)	(3.68)	(20.93)	(5.95)
	T	157	28	26	18	229	123	113	236
		(33.26)	(31.11)	(18.57)	(33.96)	(30.33)	(8.32)	(20.43)	(11 61)
Enrolment	M	1,798	428	1,049	639	3,914	3,066	1,895	4,961
in classes	F	652	119	376	118	1,265	2,234	589	2,823
I to III	T	2,450	547	1,425	757	5,179	5,300	2,484	7,784
Appeared	M	1,388	336	857	476	3,057	2,747	1,510	4,257
in classes	F	464	68	299	98	929	2,139	427	2,566
I to III	T	1,852	404	1,156	574	3,986	4,886	1,937	6,823
Drop out	M	410	92	192	163	857	319	385	704
in classes		(22.80)	(21.50)	(18.30)	(25.51)	(21.90)	(10.40)	(20.32)	(14.19)
I to III	F	188	51	77	20	336	95	162	257
		(28.83)	(42.85)	(20.48)	(16.95)	(26.44)	(4.25)	(27.50))	(9.10)
	T	598	143	269	183	1,193	414	547	961
		(24.41)	(26.14)	(18.88)	(24.17)	(23.03)	(7.81)	(22.02)	(12.35)

If the responses given by the teachers and officers working in the Saora area are also taken into consideration, the position regarding the tendency of the students to leave the school would be clear. 98.36 per cent teachers reported that most of the Saora students left school before passing class III. Similarly, 90.91 per cent officers said that the Saora

students had a tendency to discountinue their studies before reaching a certain standard of education. On the other hand, the teachers and officers working in Puri district expressed the opinion that there was no such tendency among the students. Cent percent of the parents of Puri district interviewed said that neither they nor their childern wanted to discontinue their studies.

Extent of Failure

The failure of students leads to stagnation. It is observed that stagnation is a greater evil than wastage. To find out the extent of stagnation also one has to follow the careers of a set of students and find out how many years each of them took in passing a class. The formula for finding out the index of stagnation is

$$100 \left(1 - \frac{\text{optimum number of years}}{\text{total number of years taken}} \right)$$

But it was not possible to use this method due to non-availability of properly maintained records and the difficulty in following the career of a set of students for three years. So only the extent of failure of students in different classes has been found out. This also indicates the number of students in each class who did not go to the next higher class. For this purpose the number of students who appeared in the annual examinations of classes I, II and III in 1962-63, 1963-64 and 1964-65 respectively was considered. The number of students who failed in the examinations were also collected and their percentage calculated. These were taken from the sample schools only.

Table VI. 3. Extent of failure

Name of the blocks	*Class I*					
	Appeared			*Failed*		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gumma	690	284	974	457 (66.23)	213 (75.00)	670 (68.79)
Rayagada	185	40	225	112 (60.54)	30 (75.00)	142 (63.11)
Nuagada	534	263	797	418 (78.28)	229 (87.07)	647 (81.18)
Gunupur	349	74	423	253 (72.49)	66 (89.19)	319 (75.41)
Total	1,758	661	2,419	1,240 (70.53)	538 (81.39)	1,778 (73.50)

Gop	972	845	1,817	367 (37.76)	340 (40.24)	707 (38.91)
Khandpara	668	238	906	268 (40.12)	97 (40.76)	365 (40.29)
Total	1,640	1,083	2,723	635 (38.72)	437 (40.35)	1,072 (39.37)

Class II

Appeared			*Failed*		
M	*F*	*T*	*M*	*F*	*T*
8	9	10	11	12	13
437	126	563	249 (56.98)	77 (61.11)	326 (57.90)
93	24	117	41 (44.09)	12 (50.00)	53 (45.30)
212	33	245	134 (63.21)	32 (96.97)	166 (67.76)
94	22	116	56 (59.57)	22 (100.00)	78 (67.24)
836	205	1,041	480 (57.42)	143 (69.76)	623 (59.85)
968	745	1,713	293 (30.27)	246 (33.02)	539 (31.46)
470	121	591	96 (20.43)	29 (23.97)	125 (21.15)
1,438	866	2,304	389 (27.05)	275 (31.76)	664 (28.82)

Class III

Appeared			*Failed*		
M	*F*	*T*	*M*	*F*	*T*
14	15	16	17	18	19
261	54	315	137 (52.49)	28 (51.85)	165 (52.38)
58	4	62	36 (62.07)	2 (50.00)	38 (61.29)
111	3	114	64 (57.66)	3 (100.00)	67 (58.77)
33	2	35	24 (72.72)	2 (100.00)	26 (74.29)
463	63	526	261 (56-37)	35 (55.56)	296 (56.27)
807	549	1,356	200 (24.78)	140 (25.50)	340 (25.07)

372	68	440	69	17	86
			(18.55)	(25.00)	(19.55)
1,179	617	1,796	269	157	426
			(22.82)	(25.45)	(23.72)

Total class I to class III

Appeared			*Failed*		
M	*F*	*T*	*M*	*F*	*T*
20	21	22	23	24	25
1,388	464	1,852	843	318	1,161
			(60.73)	(68.53)	(62.69)
336	68	404	189	44	233
			(56.25)	(64.71)	(57.67)
857	299	1,156	616	264	880
			(71.88)	(88.29)	(76.12)
476	98	574	333	90	423
			(69.96)	(90.81)	(73.69)
3,057	929	3,986	1,981	716	2,697
			(64.80)	(77.57)	(67.66)
2,747	2,139	4,886	860	726	1,586
			(31.31)	(33.94)	(32.46)
1,510	427	1,937	433	143	576
			(28.68)	(33.49)	(29.74)
4,257	2,566	6,823	1,293	69	2,162
			(30.37)	(33.87)	(31.69)

The percentage of failure of students varied from class to class and area to area. In the Saora area out of 2,419 students who appeared at the annual examination in class I, 1,778 students failed. Thus the failure was 73.50 per cent. In case of boy students the percentage of failure was 70.53 per cent and in case of girl students it was 31.39 per cent. The higher percentage of failure among the girls might be because they did not get enough time to devote to their studies because their services were mostly required at home. In Puri district out of 2,723 students who appeared in class I examination only 1,072, that is, 39.37 per cent failed. The extent of failure in the Saora area in class I was thus slightly less than double the extent of failure in Puri district. In case of boys of this district the failure was 38.72 per cent and in case of girls 40.35 per cent. In the non-tribal area also the failure among the girls was slightly more than that among the boys.

In class II, the failure in the Saora area was 59.85 per cent of the students who appeared in the examination. Among the boys it was 57.42 per cent and among the girls 69.76 per cent. In Puri district the

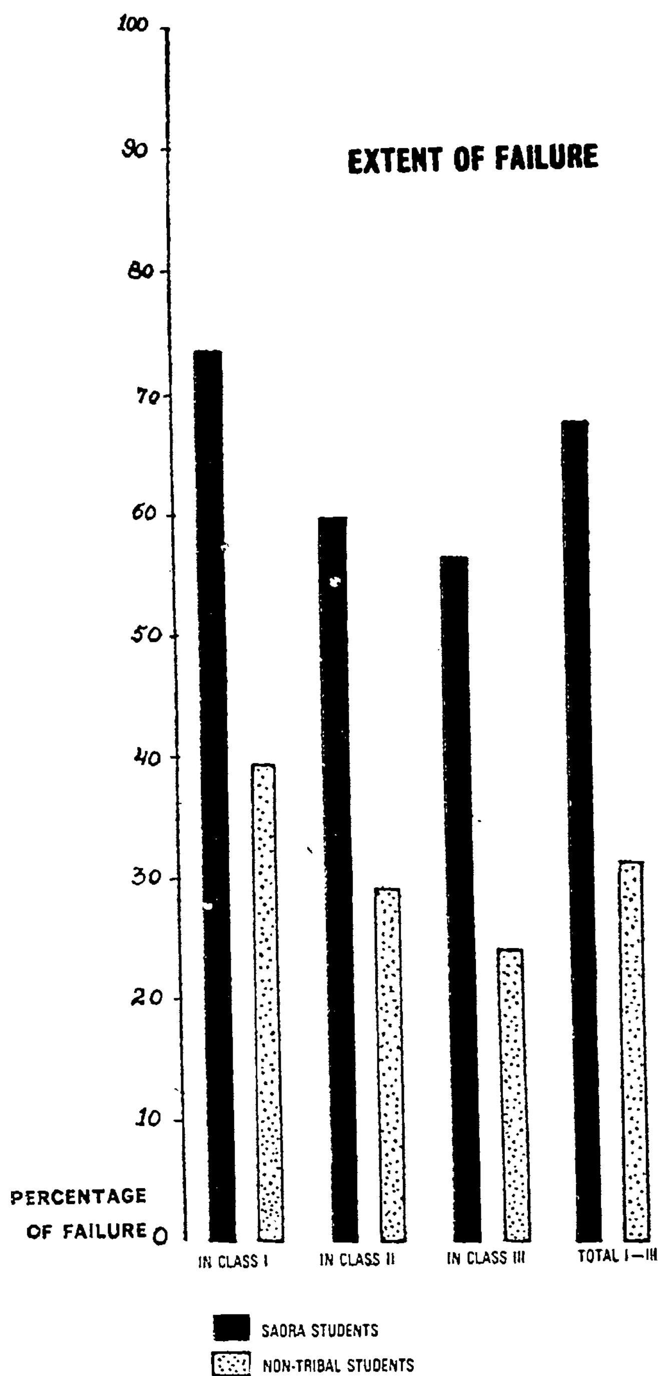

EXTENT OF FAILURE
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
PERCENTAGE
OF FAILURE 0
IN CLASS I
IN CLASS II
IN CLASS III
TOTAL I—III
SAORA STUDENTS
NON-TRIBAL STUDENTS

FIG. 3

failure in class II was 28.82 per cent; among the boys it was 27.05 per cent and among the girls 31.76 per cent. In both the areas the percentage of failure was more among the girls.

In class III, out of 526 Saora students who appeared in the examination, 296, that is, 56.27 per cent failed. Among the boys it was 56.37 per cent and among the girls 55.56 per cent. Only at this stage the percentage of failure was more among the boys. In Puri district the failure was only 23.72 per cent; among the boys it was only 22.82 per cent and among the girls 25.45 per cent.

The general trend of failure was the highest in class I, the next highest in class II and the least in class III. In the Saora area the maximum failure was in class I on account of several factors. The students did not follow their lessons at all because of Oriya being the medium of instruction; they were not regular in attending their schools; they had no interest in education and so on. The students of class I were unable to read or write Oriya alphabets, and as such they could not comprehend the lessons and hence were not promoted.

In class II, though the same situations prevailed, the students showed some improvement and more of them were promoted to class III. Secondly, as the number of students in class II was much less as compared to the number in class I, if a few of them were given promotion the percentage of failure went down. In class III, the percentage of failure was the lowest in comparison to the failures in classes I and II. This is because hardly a few Saora students reached class III and they certainly knew better than the students of classes I and II. By the time they reached class III some interest in their study was also created among them and inspite of work at home they were more regular in attending the schools. The teachers also paid more attention to the students reading in class III. In Puri district also the highest percentage of failure was in class I and the lowest in class III. This was also because of the fact that the students of class I did not pay adequate attention to follow their lessons as compared to the students of classes II and III.

The total failure in the lower primary stage, that is, from class I to class III was more than two-thirds of the students who had appeared at the examinations. Out of 3, 986 Saora students who appeared in the examinations, 2, 697, that is, 67.66 per cent failed. The failure among the boys was 64.80 per cent and among the girls 77.57 per cent. In Puri district the total percentage of failure was only 31.69 per cent. Among the boys it was 30.37 per cent and among the girls 33.87 per cent. Thus

in Puri district even less than one-third of the students who appeared in the examinations failed. The percentage of failure in the Saora area was more than double the percentage of failures in the non-tribal area. The failure was slightly more among the girls in both the areas but it was greater in the Soara area. The teachers and officers working in the Saora area were also asked to give their opinion regarding the extent of failure of the Saora students as compared to the non-tribal students. 96.19 per cent teachers and 90.91 per cent officers felt that the extent of failure among the Soare students was much more than that among the non-tribal students. Thus due to the high percentage of wastage and failure among the Saora students, it is difficult to bring about rapid educational development among them.

Causes of Wastage and Failure

To identify the causes of wastage and failures among the Saora students, the reasons pointed out by the teachers and officers working in the Soara area were taken into consideration because they came in contact with the Saora students and parents frequently and had the occasions to face these problems. The reasons as pointed out by them were found to be true by our observations made in the field. As there was great difference between the percentages of wastage and failure in the Saora area and the non-tribal area, it was necessary to find out their causes and then suggest some ways and means to solve these problems. As pointed out earlier, the Saora parents do not encourage their children to attend the school, and so it was desirable to find out the factors responsible for the development of such an attitude among them. It goes without saying that wastage and failure also occur in the non-tribal area though the percentage there is less than that in the Saora area. The causes of wastage and failure in Puri district may not be the same as in the Saora area. Efforts were made to find out these causes separately.

To have a comparative study of the two areas, the responses of teachers working in Puri district were also recorded. Four important probable reasons were suggested to them and they were asked to list them in order of importance.

Similarly, six important probable reasons were suggested to the officers working in the Saora area and they were asked of express their opinion on the probable reasons in order of importance.

On the basis of the responses of the officers and teachers of the Saora area and observations made in the field, the following important

reasons for wastage and failure, specially in the Saora area, have emerged.

The teachers working in the Saora area considered the problem of text-books written in an unknown language as the most important cause of wastage and failure. The problem of language faced by the Saora students was very much emphasized by the teachers of all the four sample blocks who considered it of the greatest importance. The officers of Gumma and Nuagada considered it as the greatest important reason. It has already been pointed out that the Saora students are unable to follow their lessons and contents of text-books prescribed for them because the text-books are written in Oriya. And the result is that the Saora students do not find interest in reading these books and either drop out or fail in the examinations. At some places, the parents told that when their children did not learn anything in the school, there was no point in sending them there. This was not the problem in Puri district.

The next important cause of wastage and failure, as pointed out by the respondents, was the lack of persuasion of students by their parents and teachers. The students tend to be irregular in attending their schools if they are not persuaded by their parents. It was considered as the most important cause by the officers and second important causes by the teachers of the Saora area. The teachers of both the areas pointed it out to be a cause of the second importance, whereas the officers of Nuagada and Gunupur blocks considerd it as the cause of the first importance. As the Saora children go to graze their cattle and help their parents in other fields of occupation, the parents are not particularly interested in disengaging the children from economic activities and sending them to schools. Sometimes the parents send their children to schools just to keep the request of the teachers. But this is only a temporary acquiscence. Very soon they withdraw their children again, or if the latter leave school or fail in the examination they do not persuade them to join again. At times this acquiscence also takes a queer turn. In some of the villages it was noticed that the parents decided among themselves that the children might be sent to schools by rotation so that a parent was not required to send his child daily and deprive himself of his help. They felt that if all the families sent one child each by rotation, they would be reqired to send their children to school only once a month which they could easily afford. Thus always new faces were seen in the schools. In such a way no child could learn anything and the incidence of wastage shot up considerably.

As the Saora do not show any inclination for educating their children, the teachers are required to go to the parents to motivate and persuade them to send them to school. It is generally found that at the time of admission the teachers go to the parents and get the children admitted. Once it is done they consider that their responsibility is over, but they never realize that their responsibility begins there and they have to persuade the children as well as their parents for the former's continued attendance. Thus due to lack of persuasion by both the parents and the teachers, the number of students who drop out or who fail in their examinations is great in the Saora area.

The next important cause of wastage and failure of Saora students was reported to be unsuitable contents of text-books. This was considered as the third important cause. The teachers of Gumma and Rayagada blocks laid more emphasis on this reason than did the teachers of other blocks. The officers felt that that was one of the important causes of wastage and failure, whereas the teachers of Puri district considered this cause as the least important. It has already been pointed out earlier that the contents of text-books prescribed for the Saora students include the description of the personalities, places, stories and events etc. with which they are not acquainted, and when they are taught about them, they find them uninteresting. It is certainly good that they should be given new things but the whole question is as to how to create interest among them to learn these things. If the contents also included the events, history, story and description of the places of Saora's interest it would certainly help in creating interest among them. However, this reason is also responsible for not creating interest for education and then causing watage and failure. It is an important factor to consider whether the contents of text-books are suitable for the students.

The other important cause of wastage and failure, as per responses, was the economic hardship. The economic condition of the Saora is poor and hence they have to work hard for their livelihood and contribution of each member of the family including that of children is required. Thus neither the children are willing nor their parents are ready to spare them to attend schools. As the reading and writing materials are not supplied free of cost to the non-tribal students, the parents may experience difficulty in purchasing books etc. But these are supplied free of cost to the Saora students. The officers of the Saora area and the teachers of Puri district considered it as the most important cause.

Lack of interset among the Saora in school life was also considered as a cause of wastage and failure by the teachers and officers working in

the Saora area. However, this cause was not considered as a very important cause of wastage by teachers of Puri district. In the Saora area, the teachers did not attach so much importance as the officers did, because they felt that if the schools were run properly with suitable books and medium of instruction and the parents and students were motivated for education, an interest for eduction might be created in them. It is evident that if efforts are made and schools are run timely so that the Saora get their children educated as well as received their assistance at home, there may be better response from the people. As, in Puri district, the parents and students realize the importance of education and have interest in the schools life, this reason is not considered much important. The success of educational programmes and fulfilling the purpose of running schools also depend upon the interest shown by the teachers in the Saora area which is also not adequate.

The officers working in the Saora area were asked to consider one more cause of wastage and failure, that is, the faulty method of education. They considered it of the least importance. They did not feel that the method of teaching the Saora children was faulty. It cannot be denied, however, that due to these various reasons the Saora children have not been attracted to schools, which indicates that there is something unsuitable in the method of teaching.

Besides the above causes of wastage and failure, a few more causes may be pointed out which are based on our observations in the field and discussions with different people.

The Saora childaren do not like to remain confined to the four walls of a school. Instead, they prefer to roam about and play in the open. Thus they showed great reluctance in coming to the school and remaining there for longer duration. While interviewing, the Saora students said that they preferred to play than to read.

The Saora students are generally admitted late in the schools and they fail twice or thrice before they reach class III. It was observed and also reported by most of the teachers working in the Saora villages that by the time they pass lower or upper primary classes they marry and get settled. After that they discontinue their studies. 56.67 per cent of the teachers interviewed said that because the students attained adulthood while reading in primary classes, they left the schools. In a few villages it became difficult to believe whether some of the boys reading in class II and III were the students or parents, but their names were found in the registers. Such students also told us that they did not have interest in schools and did not attend it regularly. This factor also contributes to a large extent in causing wastage and failure of students.

The effect of wastage and failure can be found on all aspects of education. This has direct effect on wastage of money, resources, efforts and energy. As most of the schools in the Saora area do not fulfil their real purpose, money spent on them is a waste. The efforts to run the schools in an efficient manner is wasted and the resources made available for the schools also are wasted. The wastage and failure of students are also responsible for the high percentage of illteracy among the Saora. It has already been pointed out that though some of the schools in the Saora area have been functioning for the last 30 to 40 years, the percentage of literacy in the village in negligible. The wastage and failure of students also weaken the foundation of education and discourage the people for further education. This has also an effect on the time spent on education by the Saora children. They attend the schools for sometime, drop out or fail, without making any achievement.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS AFFECTING EDUCATION

Economic Aspects of Education

'About 65 per cent of the causes of wastage are economic in origin. The child is willingly sent to school between the ages of 6 and 9. After 9, he becomes an economic asset to the family because he (or she) can work at home, or on the family farm, or outside the family and assist in adding to the family income directly or indirectly. The child is, consequently, withdrawn from school long before he completes the elementary course' [1] This observation is very true to the tribal area where all the members of the family remain engaged in one work or the other.

The Saora are mostly dependent upon their shifting cultivation, and all the year round they remain engaged in various phases of its operation or in food gathering, hunting and collection of other forest produce. The Saora economy needs the contribution of all the members of the family and different types of work are done by different people. There is a distinct division of labour among the family members. Men undertake hard work in the field, go for hunting and other outdoor work. Women work at home and undertake other lighter work in the cultivation fields. Children remain engaged in baby-sitting, grazing of cattle, carrying water and doing other sundry work and render general assistance to their parents.

In order to have a clear understanding of the preoccupation of the children in economic pursuits, they, along with their parents, teachers and officers working in the Saora area were asked to express their opinions on this matter. The table given below shows their responses.

Table VII. 1. Students' help to their parents in economic pursuits

District head quarters/ sub-division/ blocks	*Categories of respon-dents*	*No. of respon-dents*	*Help the parents*	*Per cent*	*Do not help the parents*	*Per cent*
Berhampur	Officer	1	1	100.00	—	—
Parlakhimedi	Officers	2	2	100.00	—	—
Gumma	Students	83	74	89.16	9	10.84
	Parents	27	26	96.30	1	3.70
	Teachers	28	28	100.00	—	—
	Officer	1	1	100.00	—	—
Rayagada	Students	16	14	87.50	2	12 50
	Parents	8	7	87.50	1	12.50
	Teachers	7	7	100.00	—	—
	Officers	2	2	100.00	—	—
Nuagada	Students	55	42	76.36	13	23.64
	Parents	18	17	94.44	1	5.56
	Teachers	18	18	100.00	—	—
	Officers	2	2	100.00	—	—
Gunupur	Students	38	36	94.74	2	5.26
	Parents	9	9	100.00	—	—
	Teachers	8	7	87.50	1	12.50
	Officers	3	3	100.00	—	—
Total	Students	192	166	86.46	26	13.54
	Parents	62	59	95.16	3	4.84
	Teachers	61	60	98.33	1	1.67
	Officers	11	11	100.00	—	—

The primary question here is, whether the children help their parents or not, and if so, in what ways. 100 per cent officers working in the Saora area said that the children helped their parents in their economic pursuits and a child was an economic unit of the Saora family. The officers, right from the district level to the block level said that a Saora child did contribute to the economic life of his or her parents, and that is why the parents did not want to send them to school. The teachers who deal daily with the students also expressed their views on the same line. 98.33 per cent of them said that the students helped their parents in various ways and certainly added to the economic life directly or indirectly. While discussing with the teachers and villagers regarding this problem, the teachers explained the ways in which the Saora children helped their parents. Most of the children are sent to the fields and to graze the cattle before the teacher arrives at the school. Some of the children are sent to school at the request of the teacher for only a short period and as soon as they are served with milk and

midday meal they go away or the parents come there with cattle and ask them to go and graze them. This practice was observed in many Saora villages.

95.16 per cent parents also said that the children helped them in their work ; only 4.84 per cent said that the children did not help them. All of the latter said that their children did not help them only because they were too young, which obviously meant that when their children would grow a little and would be able to help their parents they also would be engaged in the normal work.

86.46 per cent students said that they helped their parents. 41.57 per cent of those students who helped their parents said that they helped regularly, that is, almost daily, whereas 58.43 per cent of such students said that they helped them occasionally. The maximum percentage of such students who helped their parents daily was from Gumma block, which was 50 per cent. Next came Rayagada and Nuagada with 42.86 percent each. In Puri district 21.21 percent parents said that their children. helped them and 78.79 per cent said that they did not help them. Some of the parents said that the children were young so they could not help, while the others said that the help of children was not required at all.

Table VII. 2. Help rendered by the Saora children

Blocks	*No. of parents being helped by children*	*In grazing*	*In cultivation*	*In baby-sitting*	*In household work*
Gumma	26	24 (92.31)	24 (92.31)	9 (34.62)	2 (7.68)
Rayagada	7	5 (71.43)	4 (57.14)	2 (28.57)	2 (28.57)
Nuagada	17	12 (70.59)	15 (88.23)	11 (64.71)	3 (17.65)
Gunupur	9	8 (88.89)	6 (66.67)	5 (55.55)	—
Total	59	49 (83.05)	49 (83.05)	27 (45.75)	7 (11.87)

The above table shows the type of work in which the Saora children are mostly engaged. The main contribution of the children is in grazing the cattle and in cultivation. 83.05 per cent of the parents whose children helped in one way or the other said that they mainly hepled them in grazing the cattle. It is comparatively a lighter work and hence children

are asked to do this. Generally they go in the morning with their cattle to the pasture. As grazing of the cattle allows them enough time to play, they prefer this type of life over the one confined in the classroom. In some of the villages where schools function regularly, some of the children attend the school in the morning and then go to graze the cattle, hence their attendance is more in the morning shift of the school. Another important work done by the children is in the cultivation fields. In this case also 83.05 per cent of the parents said that their children helped them in almost all the phases of shifting cultivation. They also assisted in watching the crop, in fencing the fields and in their kitchen gardens etc.

When one enters a Saora village one finds a number of children carrying babies on their backs. It has already been mentioned earlier that the Saora are fond of babies. Generally the elderly boys and girls act as baby-sitters and allow their parents to work freely in the fields. 45.75 per cent of the parents said that their children helped them in baby-sitting. This work of the children has an effect on the economic life of the Saora bacause this enables the mothers to work hard and not to remain engaged with their babies.

In addition to the work mentioned above, children are also engaged in household work, which is mainly the responsibility of girls but somtimes boys also help. 11.87 per cent parents said that children helped them in household work. Children also bring fuel from the forest and help the parents in collection of forest produce. These petty work done by them save the time of the parents which is spent in other work.

Efforts were also made to find out whether the help rendered and contribution made by the children were essential to the parents or not. The opinions of parents, teachers and officers working in the Saora area were elicited.

Table VII. 3. Importance of childeren's contribution and help

District head-quarters/sub-division/blocks	*Parents*			*Teachers*			*Officers*		
	No. of respon-dents	*Contri-bution is essential*	*Contri-bution is not essent-ial*	*No. of respon-dents*	*Child-ren are more bene-fical at ihome*	*Child-ren are not benefi-cial at home*	*No. of respon-dents*	*Parents sustain loss if chidren are sent to school*	*Paren-ts do not sustain loss if chidren are sent to school*
Berhampur	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1 (100.00)	—
Parlakhimedi	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1 (50.00)	1 (50.00)

Gumma	27	24 (88.89)	3 (11.11)	28	28 (100.00)	—	1	1 (100.00)	—
Rayagada	8	6 (75.00)	2 (25.00)	7	3 (42.86)	4 (57.14)	2	2 (100.00)	—
Nuagada	18	15 (83.33)	3 (16.67)	18	15 (83.33)	3 (16.67)	2	1 (50.00)	1 (50.00)
Gunupur	9	7 (77.78)	2 (22.22)	8	1 (12.50)	7 (87.50)	3	3 (100.00)	—
Total	62	52. (83.87)	10 (16.13)	61	47 (77.05)	14 (22.95)	11	9 (81.82)	2 (18.18)

A majority of the respondents emphasized the need of help and assistance rendered by the Saora children. 83.87 per cent parents said that the help and contribution of their children to the family was essential. This aspect was emphasized more by the parents of Gumma block where 88.89 per cent parents felt the necessity of the children's contribution. 77.05 per cent teachers felt that the children were more beneficial to the parents when they rendered them various types of assistance than when they went to attend schools. This impression was deepest among the teachers of Gumma block where cent percent felt so. The next block where this feeling was deep, was Nuagada where 83.33 per cent teachers felt the importance of children working at home. 81.81 per cent officers working in the Saora area said that the Saora parents would sustain economic loss if they sent their children to schools. The parents also impressed upon the necessity of their children helping them in the various economic activities.

Due to the help and assistance derived from the children, the Soara parents did not prefer to send their children to schools. This deprivation of economic benefit from the children if they attended schools explains the apathy of the Saora towards education.

The question regarding the Saora's willingness to send their children to schools at the cost of economic benefit and help they derived from them was put to the teachers and officers working in the Saora area. Cent percent officers and 90.16 per cent teachers said that the Saora parents were not prepared to send their children to schools and sustain economic loss. Though all the officers of Gunupur block expressed the view that the Saora parents were not prepared to send their children to schools and preferred to take work from them at home, only 37.50 per cent teachers expressed this view. They felt that there was no proper motivation to send their children because the schools had not been able to function properly and produce fruitful results for the Saora. The teachers of Puri district did not feel that the parents preferred to take work from their children at home than to send them to schools,

81.82 per cent teachers of Puri district said that the parents preferred to send their children to schools and not to take work at the cost of their schooling. These responses certainly indicate that the non-tribal parents are more conscious about educating their children. It was also pointed out during our visit to the Saora villages that the teachers working in most of the villages were not regular in conducting classes. They sometimes asked the children to come to the schools and sometimes they were absent for a long time. The parents said that if such situation prevailed there was no point in sending the children to school. They could not learn anything. Thus, according to them, it was always better to take work from them than to send them to schools where they neither worked nor learnt. Thus it appears that the most powerful driving force for the parents for not sending their children to school is the help and assistance rendered them by their children.

The consciousness among the Saora for education and its relationship with their economy also varies from village to village. In most of the Saora villages it is found that the Christian missions make all possible efforts to make the Christians realize the value of education. But there is none to motivate the non-Christian Saora to take to education. Though the non-converted and the converted Saora live in the same geographical setting, have the same economy and face the same hardship in life, there are some differences in the outlook between the Saora of the two religious groups. The missions create confidence among the Christian Saora not only by their preaching but also by providing medical facilities and distributing skimmed milk and other food material. These benefits provided and services rendered by the missions also motivate the Saora in taking advice from them and sending their children to schools. The Christian Saora respond enthusiastically to the efforts made by missions in getting the religious books printed in Saora dialect in Roman script. Christian children are more regular in attending schools, and their parents are willing to adjust their work with the school timings and are to some extent prepared to send their children to school even if they have some work at home.

The system of education cannot be studied in isolation and without regard to the social and economic life of the people as, '...education, economy and society are closely linked. A change in any one is apt to affect the other two. The educational problems of the tribes are therefore to be viewed against the background of their economy and society. Only then can our educational efforts bear the maximum fruit in the minimum possible time. Of all the items in the development programme

for the tribes education is the most important as it is both the means and the end of real progress.'[2] This is true in the case of education of the Saora children also. It can also be substantiated by the responses given by the students themselves. They were asked whether they went to school regularly or to their work.

77.60 per cent of the Saora students said that they were not regular to their schools as they had to go to work and their parents prevented them from going to school. Only 22.40 per cent of the students said that they were regular in going to their schools after helping their parents. It means that they too were engaged in their work but whenever they were free from their work they went to schools.

Table VII. 4. Effect of children's economic occupations on their attendance

Blocks	*No. of respon-dents (students)*	*Irregular as they have to help their parents*	*Regular after helping parents*
Gumma	83	66 (79.52)	17 (20.48)
Rayagada	16	13 (91.25)	3 (18.75)
Nuagada	55	43 (78.18)	12 (21.82)
Gunupur	38	27 (71.05)	11 (28.95)
Total	192	149 (77.60)	43 (22.40)

The effect of engagement of the Saora students in economic pursuits can be found in the different aspects of their education. Due to their preoccupation they are irregular and hence either drop out or fail at the examinations leading to wastage. Secondly, the children and their parents do not understand the importance of education but attach more importance to the work they do with their parents. This has also the direct effect on the money, resources, efforts and time made available to the Saora for their education by the government all of which go waste.

The most important effect of the engagement of the Saora students in various work is on their educational performance. They are tired at night and do not feel like reading at home. Thus they are not only irregular in attending the schools but also do not study at home. In the busy agricultrual session they spend most of the nights in the field to watch the crop and hence do not get time to read. In the non-tribal area the children do not have to do all these and have enough time to read

at home. They are also persuaded by their parents to do so. In the non-tribal area the parents provide necessary facilities to their childern at home. But in the Saora area, as the parents are not interested in the education of their childern, and as they themselves are illiterate they neither care nor they afford to provide the necessary facilities to them. Due to all these factors the performance of Saora students is not as good as that of non-tribal students.

Social Aspects of Education

There are no social barriers and taboos for the adoption of educational practices in the Saora society as such, but certainly there are lack of incentives and proper motivation for the acceptance of these practices. However, there are some social factors which are responsible for the educational backwardness of the Saora.

One of them is the social maladjustment between the Saora and the Pano. In a composite school having both Saora and Pano students, the latter generally dominate. The Pano are the local Dom and are untouchables. Most of them are also Christian and so the Saora hesitate to allow their children to sit with them in the same class. It was also pointed out by some of the teachers that the Saora did not prefer a Christian Pano teacher to live in their houses and teach their children. On the other hand, the Pano students have a feeling of superiority over the Saora students mainly because of their educational performance in the class.

This is resented by the Saora and when they cannot reconcile themselves to an inferior position vis-a-vis the Pano, they withdraw from the school. The parents in such cases either foster a similar feeling in their children or do not discourage the latter if they have such a feeling. And the result is that the Saora students leave school and the antagonism between the two increases giving rise to further social maladjustments. It was found in some of the sample villages that though the Saora had a dominant population in the village, the school had only a few Saora students, the rest were all Pano. As the Saora do not like the Pano teachers, the teachers are also not interested in teaching their childern. The other reason for not having a sympathetic attitude and an understanding between them is the Saora's hatred towards the Pano for the latter are instrumental in bringing about the economic ruination of the Saora by their different forms of exploitation.

There is a lack of social mobility in the Saora society. The offices of the *gomang*, *bhuiya* and other important persons of the Saora society are hereditary. The son of the *gomang* becomes the next *gomang* of the

village and thus there is no room for a Saora who is educated to become a *gomang* or to hold any other social status in the village. The education has no role to play in either securing a position of higher social standing or a social recognition by the society. Thus it does not motivate people to acquire education to gain social mobility. Education also does not play any role in reducing the social distance already existing in the Saora society.

There is an absence of sense of achievement among the Saora. Unless a person desires to achieve something and reach a goal, he may not try for it. Among the non-tribal students there is an urge to get education in order to derive benefit from it, but among the Saora such an urge is conspicuously absent. They feel that they cannot achieve this goal and hence not interested in education.

The education of children has no functional importance for them. The process of education these days is so long that the Saora find it difficult to achieve something out of this long drawn-out process. Even if a Soara youth gets secondary education he cannot be gainfully employed. The little education they get hardly enables them to improve their economic condition. Thus there is no incentive for education. They consider it fruitless to run after education for long years which may or may not bring them any economic benefit, leaving their concrete and tangible source of earning their livelihood.

In the present social set up, the Saora do not think of the future and they only look to the present. They have not inculcated the habit of sacrificing their immediate benefit for a bigger and better benefit in the future. By working in the cultivation fields children bring them immediate benefit, but if they are sent to schools they take anything between 10 to 15 years to earn anything. The Saora parents have hardly such patience: This realization, however, is found among the parents of Puri districts.

On top of all these, it is said by some of the Saora that their fathers and forefathers were not educated but they were wiser and happier. If their children got educated it would not make any difference as they cannot become wiser and happier than their forefathers. They are so tradition-bound that they hardly make any effort or consider it necessary to come out of their circumvented horizon, look beyond and take advantage of the benefits endowed by highly developed science and technology. Any programme of education among them is likely to get acceptance from the people and succeed only when their attitudes towards formal education and its concomitant advantages are drastically reoriented.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CAUSES OF ADULT ILLITERACY

ILLITERACY is one of the greatest hurdles to development of the Saora. It prevents them from effective participation in the measures taken for their development and welfare. For the successful implementation of any welfare scheme, it is necessary that the people should realize the importance of the scheme which is only possible if they are literate, if not educated.

The percentage of literacy among the Saora is 7.78 per cent according to the 1961 census. Among the Lanjia Saora it is much less. Efforts have been made in this chapter to identify the causes of illiteracy among the Lanjia Saora adults. The adults are made literate through the adult literacy classes run by various official and non-official agencies.

Table VIII. 1. Ability of the Saora to spare time to attend adult literacy classes

Blocks	*No. of respon-dents*	*Can spare time to attend classes*	*Cannot spare time to attend classes*	*No response*
Gumma	27	21 (77.78)	4 (14.81)	2 (7.41)
Rayagada	8	8 (100.00)	—	—
Nuagada	18	16 (88.88)	1 (5.56)	1 (5.56)
Gunupur	9	6 (66.67)	3 (33.33)	—
Total	62	51 (82.26)	8 (12.90)	3 (4.84)

The functioning of these classes is closely related to the engagements of the adults in their work and their willingness to attend the classes. The main occupation of the Saora is shifting cultivation. All the family members who can work are engaged in it for almost the whole year. They have to work hard and hence when they return home from their fields they are too tired to spend an hour or so in the adult literacy classes. The table given above indicates the Saora's ability to spare time to attend adult literacy classes if adequate facilities are provided.

This question was also put to the teachers to know their impression about the Saora's ability to spare time and reasons thereof.

Table VIII. 2. Teachers' views regarding the ability of the Saora to spare time to attend adult literacy classes

Blocks	*No. of respondents*	*Can spare time to attend classes*	*Cannot spare time to attend classes*	*Reasons for not being able to spare time*		
				Tired at night due to hard work	*Drunk at night*	*Not interested in education*
Gumma	28	24 (85.71)	4 (14.29)	2 (50.00)	—	2 (50.00)
Rayagada	7	7 (100.00)	—	—	—	—
Nuagada	18	16 (88.89)	2 (11.11)	1 (50.00)	1 (50.00)	—
Gunupur	8	4 (50.00)	4 (50.00)	—	—	4 (100.00)
Total	61	51 (83.61)	10 (16.39)	3 (30·00)	1 (10.00)	6 (60.00)

Though the Saora remain busy in agricultural operations, they can spare time to attend the adult literacy classes if started in their villages. 82·26 per cent adults showed their willingness to attend the classes if they were opened in their villages. Only 12.90 per cent said that they did not like to attend. 70 per cent of the officers were also of the opinion that the Saora could spare time to attend these classes if they so desired. Among the teachers working in the Saora area 83.61 per cent felt that the Saora could spare time and only 11.11 per cent felt that the Saora could not spare time. Only 10 teachers reported that the Saora could not spare time to attend these classes. Out of these, six said that they could

not do so because they were not interested in education, three because they were tired at night after the day's hard work and one said because they were drunk. However, a majority of the respondents were of the opinion that the Saora would be able to spare time to attend adult literacy classes if started in their villages.

Adult Literacy Classes and their Functioning

Officers and teachers working in the Saora area and the Saora adults were asked to express their opinions about the facilities available in the villages for making the Saora adults literate.

Table VIII. 3. Availability of facilities for the Saora adults as reported by the teachers and adults

Blocks	*Teacher respondents*			*Adult respondents*		
	No. of respondents	*Adult literacy classes functioning in the village*	*Adult literacy classes not functioning*	*No. of respondents*	*Facilities exist*	*Facilities do not exist*
Gumma	28	2 (7.14)	26 (92.86)	27	1 (3.70)	26 (96.30)
Rayagada	7	—	7 (100.00)	8	—	8 (100.00)
Nuagada	18	1 (5.56)	17 (94.44)	18	—	18 (100.00)
Gunupur	8	1 (12.50)	7 (87.50)	9	—	9 (100.00)
Total	61	4 (6.56)	57 (93.44)	62	1 (1.61)	61 (91.39)

40 per cent of the officers said that there was no facility available in the Saora villages, whereas 20 per cent said that some books and slates etc. were available. 30 per cent of the officers interviewed said that some adult literacy classes were functioning in the Saora villages, whereas 10 per cent of the officers said that there were some adult literacy classes and youth clubs in the Saora area. 93.44 per cent teachers and 98.39 per cent adults said that no facility of any kind was available in the villages for making the Saora adults literate. During our tour to the Saora area no such facilities were found in the Saora villages. Only in one or two villages the people informed that adult literacy classes were functioning

but these were very irregular. It was difficult to assess as to how many of the adults were actually made literate. When this aspect was discussed with the local authorities, they said that it was not possible for them to run such classes in the interior Saora villages due to their inaccessibility and because supervision and inspection at night were not possible in such villages. They also pointed out some of the factors responsible for lack of adequate facilities in the Saora villages.

The adults are preoccupied with their economic activities and thus do not pay adequate attention to these classes. The authorities are, therefore, not keen to open adult literacy classes in the Saora villages.

As the adult literacy classes, wherever they exist, do not show much progress, the authorities are not encouraged to start new ones. However, it can be safely said that the facilities provided for making the Saora literate are not adequate as reported by 80 per cent of the officers.

Some of the officers also pointed out that the reading materials supplied to the Saora adults were not suitable as they were written in Oriya. Though there was a provision to supply primers, slates, carpet, light etc. to adult literacy classes, it was sometimes difficult to provide them in the interior villages due to transportation difficulty. Except opening the adult literacy classes, other facilities such as libraries or suitable reading materials etc. were also not available. According to some of the officers, the facilities were inadequate because the number of persons who were to attend the classes was not enough.

Some other officers pointed out that in Orissa the post of Social Education Organizer was abolished and thus they found it difficult to inspect adult literacy classes. The work was looked after by the Lady Social Education Organizers who were not prepared to go to the Saora villages at night to inspect adult literacy classes. Thus they felt that, as supervision was not possible, there was no use of opening adult literacy classes in such villages.

The lack of motivation among the Saora was one of the reasons for not providing facilities in the Saora villages as pointed out by the officers. They said that due to this factor the classes did not fulfill the real purpose and hence they did not think it wise to open adult literacy classes in such villages.

It was reported that there was no initiative taken to get adult literacy classes opened either by the adults or the government. This lack of initiative from both the sides prevented opening of adult literacy classes.

It was also pointed out that there was no programme nor any facility for the follow up of the neo-literates. Thus they relapsed into illiteracy again, and hence, unless these facilities were made available, there was no use of starting adult literacy classes.

So far as the functioning of adult literacy classes was concerned the responses given by the adults, officers and teachers were not alike. While replying to the question whether there was any adult literacy class in their villages, four out of 61 teachers said that there were adult literacy classes in their villages, whereas only one adult out of 62 said so. The adults who were interviewed were the headmen of the villages and if there were adult literacy classes in the villages they must have known. Their being unaware of the existence of such classes shows that they were not functioning in the villages. The affirmative responses given by teachers are only indicative of their desire to show that they were properly discharging their responsibility by running adult literacy classes. 75 per cent of the teachers who said that adult literacy classes were functioning in their villages said that they were satisfied with their functioning. The responses given by the officers were entirely different from those given by the teachers as 80 per cent of them said that they were not at all satisfied with the functioning of adult literacy classes.

The reasons for unsatisfactory functioning of adult literacy classes were also pointed out by the officers. 50 per cent of the officers who

Table VIII. 4. Reasons for the adults attending literacy classes

Blocks	*No. of adults willing to attend literacy classes*	*For knowledge sake and practical utility*	*To avoid exploitation*	*For better social status in the village*
Gumma	21	12 (57.14)	12 (57.14)	—
Rayagada	8	4 (50.00)	5 (62.50)	—
Nuagada	16	12 (75.00)	6 (37.50)	1 (6.25)
Gunupur	6	4 (66.67)	4 (66.67)	—
Total	51	32 (62.74)	27 (52.94)	1 (1.96)

were not satisfied with the functioning of these classes said that the adults were not interested in attending the adult literacy classes and hence they did not function properly. But the responses given by the adults were quite different and they pointed out that they were willing to attend, but that no adult literacy classes were held. It has already been pointed out that 82.26 per cent ofthe adults interviewed expressed their willingness to attend. The reasons why they wanted to attend these classes are given in the table above.

The main reason for attending these classes, as given by 62.74 per cent of the adults who were willing to attend was to become literate so that their literacy could be of practical utility. 52.94 per cent of such adults wanted to attend these classes and make themselves literate because through this they could avoid their exploitation by outsiders, particularly by the Pano. It has already been pointed out earlier that the Saora are exploited by the Pano and now they have started realizing that they can get rid of this menace by educating their children and to some extent by making themselves literate. In view of this, it does not seem correct to suggest that adult literacy classes do not function properly because there is lack of interest among the adults. In fact, there may not be as much lack of interest by the adults as of sincere efforts by the authorities concerned. The interest of the adults may be further increased if the adult literacy classes opened in the villages were made to function properly and were able to produce a few literates. How far and whether the adult literacy classes function can be well imagined by the functioning of the primary schools for which teachers are paid fully and so much expenditure is incurred by the State government. 12.50 per cent of the officers who were not satisfied with the functioning of the adult literacy classes pointed out that there was a lack of interest not among the adults but among the teachers and officers who were also not sincere and hence the adult literacy classes did not function. There was lack of supervision and inspection of adult literacy classes functioning in the Saora villages. When the teachers did not attend day classes in the schools it was easy to imagine that they would not organize night classes if they have to come from another village to do the same.

The third reason as given by 12.50 per cent of the officers was the meagre emoluments paid to the teachers to conduct these classes at night. The amount was also not paid regularly as pointed out by 12.50 per cent officers. These factors discourage the teachers to put their heart in this work. The fourth reason for the unsatisfactory functioning of adult literacy classes, as pointed out by 12.50 per cent of the officers, was the poor economic condition of the Saora. Though the primers and slates etc. were supplied to the adults free of cost, they worked hard in the day

time and hence did not like to attend night classes. 12.50 per cent of the officers also pointed out that the Saora were drunk at night and did not attend the adult literacy classes. But this reason does not seem correct as most of the Saora could not afford to drink every night.

Causes of Illiteracy

The causes of illiteracy among the Saora were identified by recording the experience of the teachers and officers working in the Saora area and observations made there. Officers and teachers were also asked to pin point some of the important causes of illiteracy among the Saora adults. There was much similarity in the responses given by these two categories of respondents. Besides the unsatisfactory functioning of adult literacy classes, some other reasons were also put forward by the respondents which are given in the table below.

Table VIII. 5. Causes of illiteracy

Blocks	*No. of respondents (teachers)*	*Economic hardship*	*Always engaged in work*	*No realization of importance of education*	*Inadequate facilities*	*Workers do not approach the adults*
Gumma	28	4 (14.29)	15 (53.56)	23 (82.14)	—	2 (7.15)
Rayagada	7	—	7 (100.00)	1 (14.29)	1 (14.29)	1 (14.29)
Nuagada	18	4 (22.22)	4 (22.22)	6 (33.33)	2 (11.11)	10 (55.56)
Gunupur	8	5 (62.50)	6 (75.00)	7 (87.50)	5 (62.50)	5 (62.50)
Total	61	13 (21.31)	32 (52.46)	37 (60.66)	8 (13.11)	18 (29.51)

Five probable causes of illiteracy were put before the teachers for their consideration and they were asked to make out only a few causes which they considered most important. Most of the teachers gave two responses and some even more than two. The officers were given to consider seven probable causes of illiteracy among the Saora. They were asked to indicate the causes in order of their importance.

As per responses given by the teachers and officers following are the main causes of illiteracy among the Saora.

1. Economic Hardship. The teachers and officers pointed out that one of the main causes of illiteracy among the Saora was their poor economic condition and economic hardship they had to undergo. This was considered to be a cause of the first importance by the officers. But the responses given by the teachers were different. Only 21.31 per cent of them pointed out that it was one of the important causes of illiteracy. Most of the teachers felt that as the reading and writing materials were supplied free of cost, the adult literacy programme might not be a problem for the adults. But due to their preoccupations with economic activities the adults did not find enough time to attend these classes, even if such classes functioned in the village. The notion that the Saora do not attend these classes because they are not interested can only be true if the classes functioned regularly and satisifactorily and the adults did not participate. It was generally felt that if adequate facilities for imparting eduction and making the adults literate were provided, the situation could certainly be improved. However, it cannot be denied that the poor economic condition of the Saora is also responsible for keeping them illiterate.

2. *Economic Preoccupation.* The constant engagement of the Saora in their agricultural operations and other means of earning livelihood was considered as the second important cause of illiteracy. The officers of Gumma and Gunupur, however, considered it a cause of the first importance. 52.46 per cent of the teachers said that this was one of the most important cause for illiteracy among the Saora. The hardship of life is to be faced all the times by them and they have to work day in and day out to earn their livelihood. They are so busy with their work that nothing else engages their attention. But with due persuasion and motivation they may be able to spare some time to attend adult literacy classes. But to keep their interest undiminished it is of the utmost importance that these classes are run regularly.

3. *No Realization of the Importance of Education.* The officers and teachers emphasized the lack of realization of importance of education and literacy by the Saora. This was considered as the third important cause by the officers. It was also considered as the most important cause by the officers of Rayagada. 60.66 per cent teachers said that this was one of the important causes of illiteracy among the Saora. Though in most of the villages there were no adult literacy classes, yet the people did not come forward to approach the authorities

to start such classes. Most of the teachers and officers also held the same opinion. In the circumstances, it appears that the opinions that there is a lack of realization of importance of education among the Saora on the one hand, and they are unwilling to attend adult literacy classes on the other, seem contradictory, though, in fact, they may not be so. Willingness to attend adult literacy classes does not show any initiative by the beneficiaries because this only means that if such classes were opened in the villages on others' initiative, the Saora adults might like to attend them. It is no doubt a fact that the Saora have gradually started realizing the importance of literacy mainly to avoid exploitation, but this realization is not so strong as to induce them to make efforts to overcome this difficulty at their own initiative. However, it is evident that there is a lack of realization and initiative for making themselves literate but they are not averse to this programme if launched in the villages.

4. *Inadequate Facilities.* For the promotion of any programme of adult literacy and its successful implementation it is necessary that adequate facilities are provided to make the people literate. It has already been pointed out earlier that the facilities provided for making the adults literate are not at all adequate. 13.11 per cent teachers strongly felt that due to lack of adequate facilities the Saora continue to remain illiterate. The officers considered this problem as the fourth important cause of illiteracy. Thus this cause was considered less important as compared to the above three causes. This might be because either the teachers and the officers were unable to realize the importance of this problem because they were themselves involved in it, or they might not have liked to express their feelings thinking that the same might not bring credit to them. During our visit to the Saora villages and discussions with the teachers, officers and adults and observations made it could be said that among the various causes of illiteracy, this was one of the most important cause. It has already been reported earlier by teachers and officers that the number of adult literacy classes functioning in the villages was inadequate. This has a direct effect on the acquistion of literacy by the Saora. It was felt that if proper attention was paid to ensure proper functioning of adult literacy classes and adequate number of them opened in the Saora villages, the extent of illiteracy might be reduced. Further, other facilities like reading and writing material, follow up literature, lantern, kerosene oil and other items of stationery are not adequate. Lack of these facilities also contribute toward the lack of interest and initiative of the Saora in attending adult literacy classes. The adults may not respond favourably unless these facilities are adequately provided.

5. *Lukewarm Approach of the Various Organizations.* One of the

important causes of the Saora's illiteracy as considered by 29.51 per cent teachers was inadequate attention paid and negligence shown by the officers and the organizations engaged in adult literacy compaigns to motivate them to attend adult literacy classes. The officers naturally gave the least importance to this cause.

There are a few villages which nobody visits. 3.23 per cent of the adults interviewed reported that nobody ever visited their villages. The most frequent visitors to the Saora villages as pointed out by 90.32 per cent Saora adults and 98.36 per cent teachers were the Pano traders. The reason for their frequent visits is the petty business transacted by them in the Saora villages. They could very easily motivate the Saora adults for literacy if they so desired. 98.21 per cent of the villagers who said that the Pano were the frequent visitors told that the latter never motivated or persuaded them to become literate. A few of the adults even said that it would not be in the interest of the Pano to persuade them to become literate because then they would not be able to exploit them. Only 1.79 per cent adults reported that sometimes the Pano asked them to be literate. The Pano traders are interested in their business only and motivation for literacy from them is most unexpected, and even against their interest.

4.84 per cent of the Saora adults and 4.92 per cent teachers said that the representatives of the Christian missions also visited the villages frequently. On enquiry about their persuading the villagers for literacy 100 per cent of the adults who reported about their visits said that the latter did not persuade them and gave the impression that they were more interested in conversion than in making the adults literate. They certainly distributed small books written in Saora dialect in Roman script containing biblical stories. But these are meant only for those who are already literate. In most of the Saora villages where the Saora have become Christians, some of the missionaries taught the Saora children and adults the Roman alphabets. Their visits were generally once a week. But the number of visits varied according to the distance of the village, its accessibility and number of people to be taught in the village. People responded more favourably to this programme than to the programme introduced by the government agencies. The Saora were encouraged by the missionaries to read these books as well as the Bible written in Saora dialect. The help and motivation for literacy given were to the Christian Saora.

The third type of visitors to the Saora villages were the government servants. Only 3.23 per cent of the adults and 6.56 per cent of the teachers interviewed said that government servents visited the villages frequently. The visits of government servants are highly inadequate.

Among the villagers who gave this response only 50 per cent said that the officers asked the adults to become literate. It was the general complaint of the villagers that the officers did not visit the villages and persuade them to become literate and participate in other development programmes.

In general, it appears that the motivating agencies in the Saora area are not at all adequate and active. All the officers working in the Saora area said that the media of mass communication in the Saora area were not at all adequate. None of the above three categories of visitors persuaded them to become literate. 88.51 per cent of the teachers said that the visitors did not persuade the Saora adults for acquiring literacy. It can thus be concluded that the motivation for literacy is not adequately provided either by the government or the voluntary agencies. If it is provided the situation can be improved.

6. *Deep-rooted Cultural Background and Ideas.* It has often been said that due to the deep-rooted cultural background and ideas the Saora do not come forward to participate in the educational and other developmental programmes. Endeavours were made to find out as to how far it was responsible for illiteracy among the Saora. 90 per cent of the officers agreed with the statement: 'The Saora do not feel the necessity of education due to their deep-rooted cultural background.' Similarly, 65.57 per cent of the teachers said that the Saora did not want to become literate because of their cultural background. According to these officers and teachers the Saora were not willing to attend adult literacy classes because they felt that their fathers and fore fathers were illiterate but carried on their work satisfactorily and so they would come to no harm if they did not become literate. If persons of a particular generation are literate the members of the next descending generation may be made literate without much persuasion but, conversely, it cannot be concluded that if persons of a particular generation are illiterate the members of the next descending generation may not like to be made literate. It is evidenced by the fact that only 14.52 per cent of the adults who were headmen of the villages said that their fathers were literate but 82.23 per cent adults wanted to attend the adult literacy classes and become literate. Thus proper motivation for the adoption of the programmes is needed. The Saora may like to adopt the programmes more easily with which they are acquainted and which suit their cultural pattern. 'People tend to respond more easily to stimuli which has some continuity or analogy with thier traditional values and forms of organization. Continuity of cultural patterns is the main reason for the relative ease of cultural transfer.'[1] In the circumstances when the

parents as well as their forefathers were illiterate they may be hesitant to adopt the programmes of adult literacy or might not respond easily, but it does not mean that they do not have the urge to read and write. However, it may be mentioned that during our visits to the Lanjia Saora villages and discussions with the people, some of the Saora said, 'Oh! our fathers and grandfathers were not literate and educated but they were the happier and wiser ones and we are not going to be benefited if we receive education,' 'At this age there is no use of reading. It may be good for the children but not for the people who have already spent half of their lives,' and so on. The officers considered this cause of illiteracy as the fifth in order of importance. This was considered as the second important cause by the officers of Gumma and Rayagada. It is true that the feeling of the Saora are guided by their traditional way of life and cultural background but this cultural barrier may be broken with intensive propagation of the programmes and persuasion of the Saora to adopt them.

7. *Lack of Communication.* One of the causes of illiteracy among the Saora is the inaccessibility of the villages and less contact of the villagers with town due to lack of communication. This was considered the sixth important cause of illiteracy by the officers. It is an undisputed fact that contact is an important source of borrowing of new ideas and practices. The inaccessibility of the villages and lack of communication have direct bearings on the promotion of education and literacy among the Saora. It might be one of the reasons for non-availability of adequate facilities. It was pointed out that because the Saora villages were not easily approachable, no effort was made for starting adult literacy classes as proper supervision would not be possible in inaccessible areas. The Lady Social Education Organizer, it was reported, would not visit adult literacy classes at night, as also it would be difficult to carry reading and writing materials there. The communication bottleneck also does not help in providing facilities for follow up.

8. *Lack of Follow up Programme.* Besides the seven important causes given above, absence of any follow up programme is also a cause of the Saora neo-literates' relapse into illiteracy. 50 per cent of the officers said that there was no provision for follow up programmes for the neo-literates, whereas 10 per cent officers said that there was provision for the supply of reading and writing materials and 10 per cent pointed out that there were provisions for libraries. 10 per cent of the officers said that there was provision for follow up literature. 20 per cent of the officers said that there was some provision for follow up programme

through adult literacy programmes. So far the adequacy of the provisions is concerned 40 per cent officers said that it was adequate, whereas 60 per cent of them felt that it was not adequate. In most of the villages there were no adult literacy classes and no provision made for follow up programmes for the neo-literates. It is essential that the neo-literates should get some literature otherwise within a short period they again relapse into illiteracy. The main reasons for inadequacy of these provisions, as pointed out by the officers, were the paucity of funds and various types of administrative bottlenecks, There is also a paucity of right type of reading materials for adult literacy classes as well as for the neo-literates. The books written in Oriya are not suitable for the Saora adults as most of them do not know Oriya. The contents of books are also not very much suitable for them. The follow up programme, if effectively launched, may also arouse interest among the Saora adults to become literate or to retain their literacy who have already become literate.

Chapter Nine

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

We now come to the end of our present study. It is time to look back and recall the educational problems of the Saora identified in this study. The problems of education of the Saora have been studied through various perspectives and suggestions made to solve these problems. The problems as identified among them may be existing in other tribal areas also but they are of special significance to the Saora owing to the very undeveloped condition of the tribe and its woefully inadequate educational development. The Lanjia Saora are cut off from the mainstream of the Indian life and culture and thus living in isolation and retaining most of their traditional cultural traits. They have not been able to look beyond their circumvented horizon and accept new ideas, thoughts and things. There is no traditional system of education through youth dormitory, as among many other tribes of India. Religious beliefs and practices pervade the life of the Saora. The *gomang* and the *kudang*, the secular and the religious heads of the village are men of consequence in the Saora society. In such a hilly place where the Lanjia Saora live in isolation and waste much energy in doing thing due to technological backwardness, educational development has been difficult to achieve. There is no doubt that there are a few agencies which provide the opportunity to the Saora to come in contact with the outsiders and bring about change in them, but these are not enough and have not produced any appreciable result.

In the Saora area the educational facilities provided by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department of the Government of Orissa have been of great help to the people. The introduction of Ashram and Sevashram schools has helped in the promotion of education among them. The

education of children in the primary schools is free in Orissa but the Saora students are also provided reading and writing materials free of cost. In Ashram and Sevashram schools they are also provided with dress, and all the expenses of these schools are borne by the government. These facilities certainly add to the incentive to the Saora to send their children to schools. In spite of all these facilities, the progress made in the promotion of education among the Saora is not satisfactory.

One of the important causes of educational backwardness of the Saora and their comparatively inferior educational performance has been because they are taught through Oriya and not through their mother tongue. If the medium of instruction in the primary schools were the mother tongue of the people, the children could have picked up their lessons easily and produced satisfactory results. Most of the Saora do not know Oriya. Under the circumstances, when Oriya is the medium of instruction at all the stages of education it becomes difficult for their children to learn Oriya quickly and come at par with the non-tribal students. The Saora students are not even able to read and write during the first two years of their schooling. Even if they read out a few words they are not able to comprehend the meaning of the words. They do not also follow the contents of the books prescribed for them, as they do not follow Oriya. The contents of books are also unknown to them and thus have not been able to create interest among them. These are mainly due to the fact that the books are written in an unknown language and the contents of the books are unrelated to their culture. In spite of these problems the Saora are willing to learn Oriya only because of its practical utility in daily life and also to obtain some jobs. It is thus very likely that the Saora students may not achieve any educational development and may not make any headway in this field unless this problem is boldly and squarely faced. The solution of this problem may lie in the introduction of Saora dialect, at least at the lower primary stage. If instruction to the Saora students is imparted through their mother tongue for two to three years they are more likely then than at present to cultivate and urg for receiving education. The medium of instruction may be gradually switched over to the regional language. The Saora are willing to learn Oriya language but it is not possible to do so from the very first year of their schooling. Some leeway has got to be given them in this respect. First of all they will have to be made prepared for learning Oriya after acclimatization to the environs of the school and when they have got a taste of education.

The primary schools functioning in the Saora area do not fulfil their real purpose due to various factors. They have to face many ad-

ministrative problems which hinder their progress. The number of lower primary schools functioning in the Saora area seems to be adequate considering the population served by each school, but the number of upper primary, middle and high schools is inadequate. In contrast to this the number of all cetegories of schools in Puri district is quite in proportion to the population and the number of children of school-going age.

Most of the primary schools functioning in the Saora area do not possess school buildings of their own and classes area conducted in residential houses. In case a school has its own building it is almost always in a dilapidated condition. There is no meaning of starting a primary school unless it is equipped with buildings and teaching aids. The teaching aids provided to primary schools are also highly inadequate.

With the introduction of Panchayati Raj in Orissa, the management and supervision of primary schools has been handed over to the Zila Parishads. At the village level the affairs of the schools are looked after by the school committees. The school committees of the Saora villages do not function properly and the teachers dominate over their members who, in most cases, are illiterate.

The chairmen of the school committees are unable to keep a watch on the teachers and perform their duties efficiently. This problem is not so acute in the non-tribal area where the chairmen of the school committees are more enlightened, educated and enthusiastic.

The inspecting staff have also to face many problems in inspecting the schools mainly due to inacessibility of the Saora villages. The primary schools are not inspected frequently as a result of which there is no proper control over the teachers. When the local bodies, that is, school committees are unable to keep watch on the teachers and no proper inspections of school are done, the teachers run the schools according to their own convenience and are mostly absent from the schools. In such a situation when the teachers do not attend the schools and schools are not provided with school buildings and teaching aids, primary schools cannot function properly. But the blame does not lie entirely on teachers only for not staying in the villages because, for residing in the Saora villages some minimum facilities are required which, at present, are not provided them. Apart from residential facilities teachers also need some more incentive in the shape of more emoluments, medical facilities and extra leave. These facilities may induce them to work in the Saora area and in a better way.

While considering the policy of education and facilities to be provided to schools and teachers, it is necessary to take into account the local conditions and problems. The problems existing in the Saora

area may not be the same as in the non-tribal area. One of the main reasons of the unsatisfactory functioning of the primary schools in the Saora area is the lack of interest among the teachers and the efforts of some of them in exploiting the Saora due to which they pay less attention to their primary duty of running the schools. The supply of reading and writing materials to the Saora students is not in time and so they do not avail of the facilities properly. It is essential to solve these problems relating to educational administration. More facilities to teachers and inspecting staff may be given to enable them to work in the Saora area.

One of the greatest hurdles in the development of education in the Saora area is the problem of wastage and stagnation. The problem also exists in other tribal and non-tribal areas, but it is very much acute among the Saora. Out of every hundred Lanjia Saora children admitted in class I only seven to eight pass class III and all the rest go waste. This is due to early withdrawal of students from the schools even before their attaining a minimum standard of education. Similarly, the extent of failure of the Saora students is very high. The wastage and stagnation are very high in class I. The incidence of wastage and stagnation is not so high among the non-tribal students.

These problems are mainly economic in nature. As the Saora students have to help their parents in economic and other walks of life, the parents do not want to send their children to school at the cost of economic benefit they derive from them. Hence the incidence of drop out is very high among them. As the non-tribal parents are more enlightened and educated than the Saora parents, they do not like to withdraw their children from the schools at an early stage as the Saora do. They, instead, persuade their children to attend schools regularly and read at home. This persuasion by parents is not available to the Saora students. The students of non-tribal communities are provided with light to read at night and able guidance of their parents wherever they feel any difficulty. These facilities which are essential for continuing education are not available to the Saora students. The latter thus cannot come at par with the non-tribal students.

Some of the main reasons why the educational standard of the Saora students is very low as compared to that of the non-tribal students are the unsuitable text-books and an unknown medium of instruction. The non-tribal studentsh ave a definite edge over their Saora counterparts int his respect also as the medium of instruction is their own mother tongue and the contents of text-books are drawn from their own culture. The extent of wastage and stagnation of the Saora students also increases due to these factors and they do not find interest in reading in the schools. It is felt

that if the Saora students too are provided with such facilities from their parents and the medium of instruction and contents of books are also suitably modified, the situation can certainly improve and the extent of wastage and stagnation can be minimized.

There is a notion among the people that the Saora do not respond favourably to the development programmes including the educational programme due to their deep-rooted cultural background and traditions. Efforts were made to find out the extent to which these factors influence the attitudes of the Saora. Here it may be concluded that if sincere efforts are made to motivate the Saora, and if the schools run properly they may feel the necessity of sending their children to schools. Complaints of the Saora parents that the teachers neither stayed in the villages nor conducted classes regularly could not be dismissed out of hand. This state of affairs did not encourage them to send their children to schools. Thus if these problems are solved a great measure of educational development of the Saora could be achieved.

Economic hardship is also one of the main reasons of educational backwardness of the people. The Saora students are withdrawn from the schools even at the very early stage or are not sent to schools at all so that they may help their parents. The existing practice among the Saora is that the children do baby-sitting, graze their cattle, help their parents in cultivation and collect fuel and forest produce. But in spite of so much help received by the parents, they showed their willingness to send their children to schools because of practical utility of education and to avoid their exploitation by the Pano. And if the education given to them does not serve these purposes their self-deprivations will have no meaning.

The Saora cannot be asked to desist from taking work from their children for the sake of sending them to school for which they are not going to get immediate benefit but they can certainly be motivated to combine both the work together and take advantage of both. Only making suitable change in the school timings has no meaning if they are not followed strictly. Such arrangements can provide opportunities to the Saora to send their children to schools twice a day and also take work from them. The supply of midday meals and dress can also provide good incentives.

A great disadvantage with which the Saora suffer is the high percentage of illiteracy. Because of this it is very difficult to introduce and implement any developmental programme. No doubt, the schemes can be introduced and implemented to a great extent if the proper motivation is provided through personal contacts, but the positive role of

education in understanding the various pros and cons of the schemes cannot be denied. The poor economic condition may not have any direct effect on the illiteracy of the Saora, it directly leads to their non-attendance in adult literacy classes. They work for the whole day in their fields and at times spend their nights watching their fields.

Under these circumstances, they do not feel like attending adult literacy classes at night when they are tired. All the same, they are willing to attend these classes if the same are started in their villages and run regularly and properly. Facilities for making the Saora literate are almost nil. The number of literacy classes opened are extremely few, and mostly in the road-side villages. Some of the persons working in the Saora area explained that there was no use of starting adult literacy classes as the Saora did not respond favourably ; and it was not possible for the inspecting staff such as Lady Social Education Organizers to inspect these classes at night. But these are not insurmountable difficulties. The goodwill of the workers and proper understanding of the problems will go a long way in solving them. It has also been pointed out that the inadequecy of facilities are because the Saora do not take initiative for having such classes in their villages. It appears rather unreasonable to expect any initiative from the Saora who have no knowledge about such schemes and who do not know whom to approach and how to approach. The teachers who run these classes are not interested and do not conduct them regularly and thus the adults too do not find any interest.

Lack of motivation among the adults is one of the major problems. The officers and workers do not approach the villagers frequently and there area few Lanjia Saora villages which have perhaps never been visited by any of the officers. It is even said that because the fathers and fore-fathers of the Saora were not literate and they are under the influence of deep-rooted culural values, they do not want to be made literate, but, it is hardly fair to say so. They have started realizing the importance of literacy in their day-to-day life. They are willing to join adult literacy classes if started in their villages. Thus the Saora alone cannot be blamed for the existing high percentage of illiteracy among them.

The foremost task before the authorities is to provide adequate facilities for making the Saora literate. Nobody is going to suggest that all the villages should be provided with adult literacy classes but certainly the big villages may be provided with to begin with. While starting them in the villages, the Saora may be properly motivated for the adoption of the programme. This may be done through personal contacts

and audio-visual aids. The most important thing is the efficient functioning of adult literacy classes. Their inspections may be made adequate. The remuneration of the teachers needs to be increased and some other incentives given. Before starting an adult literacy class the supply of articles for the class should be ensured. If these classes function properly and teachers are conscious of their duties the Saora may respond favourably.

In the present circumstances where the Saora are technologically more backward, firmly bound down to their traditional ethos and norms and being greatly exploited, mere opening of a few primary schools will not mean much. What is needed more is to perceive the problems of educational development among the Lanjia Saora in right perspective and to take into account the conditions prevailing there and chalk out the programmes accordingly.

Recommendations

On the basis of the educational problems of the Saora identified in this study some recommendations are made. These are based on the responses given by the officers, teachers and the Saora perents and also on the observations made during our field work. While making recommenations the local conditions and resources have been kept in mind. If the following recommendations are implemented, it is hoped that the educational problems of the Saora may be solved.

I. Educational Administration

I.1. The number of primary schools in the Saora area seems to be enough according to the number of school-going children. But the number of school-going children is not commensurate with the number of children of school-going age. The number of former, therefore, may be increased by suitable persuasive methods.

I.2. On an average, there are 58 upper primary schools for every 100 lower primary schools in the non-tribal area whereas in the Saora area the number of upper primary schools is only 19 per 100 lower primary schools. Thus it seems that the number of upper primary schools in the Saora area is not adequate. This needs to be increased.

I.3. Residential facilities may be provided at the upper primary schools to enable the Saora students to join these schools. Free board and lodging may be provided to them in these schools.

I.4. In order to ensure people's participation, they should be required to construct the school building if they want a school in the village. After construction, the building may be taken over by the

government who may maintain it every year. The contract for repairing the building may be given to the village and contract money distributed among the people so that their continued interest in the school building is maintained.

I.5. The Chairmen of the Panchayat Samitis may supervise more effectively the working of the school committees. The school committees may meet every month. The meetings may be convened by the teachers in consultation with the Chairmen of the committees according to their conveniences. The proceedings of the meetings may also be forwarded to the Chairmen of the Panchayat Samitis and Sub-Inspectors of Schools regularly.

I.6. Keeping in view the difficulties faced by the inspecting staff in the Saora areas, there is a need of reducing the number of primary schools to be inspected by them and hence provision of more inspecting staff may be made. One primary school must be inspected at least once in six months by the Sub-Inspector of Schools.

I.7. The Sub-Inspectors of Schools may be left alone for only inspection work. For this they may either be relieved of their other paper work or provided with clerks to look after the work. They may also be provided with peons to assist them during their tour to the interior Saora villages. Other Extension Officers of the blocks are provided with peons to go on tour with them and no discrimination need be made in this respect,

I.8. More supervision and inspection by the district officers in-charge of education may be ensured. At present it is woefully inadequate.

I.9. The recommendations made by a Sub-Inspector of Schools against or in favour of teachers should, as far as possible, and unless there are strong reasons to act otherwise, be respected. This will boost his morale and motivate him to put his heart in the inspection and supervision of schools.

I.10. Teachers' involvement in local politics may be discouraged.

I.11. The teachers who are posted far away from their villages and go to schools and return to their villages every day have never been able to run the schools regularly. The teachers who are posted in villages which are more than three miles away from their villages should live in the place of their posting and suitable residential accommodation may be made available to them.

I.12. Teachers should be encouraged to increase the enrolment by getting enough children of school-going age admitted to the school

and ensure their regular attendance. For this purpose they may be given some sort of incentive.

1.13 The school record may be maintained properly and kept up to date. The Sub-Inspectors of Schools may ensure that the teachers maintain the records.

1.14 Teaching aids provided to schools are not adequate. There is a need for providing all types of teaching aids such as charts, black-boards, chalks, posters, picture cards, globes, counting sticks and balls etc. to all schools.

1.15 Provision of supply of midday meals to all the Saora students may also induce the children to join the schools. This facility may be extended to as many students as possible. Proper distribution of milk may also be ensured.

1.16. Dress may also be provided at least to those students who are regular and poor.

1.17. The supply of reading and writing materials may be made in time as far as possible. It may be ensured that these materials reach the students.

1.18. The teachers working in the Saora area may be given short orientation training in the life and culture of the Saora. As far as possible, after the training they may be posted in the Saora area.

1.19. If suitably qualified and trained teachers are not available for working in the Saora area, teachers from non-tribal area who are prepared to serve in the Saora area, may be appointed and given training. They may also be helped in learning Saora dialect and some incentive in shape of reward for passing a prescribed examination may be given.

1.20. The teachers working in the Saora area must know Saora dialect.

1.21. The teachers posted in the Saora area may not be transferred before three years. The maximum stay of teachers at a place may be five years.

1.22. A special pay with a reasonable minimum may be given to the teachers for working in the hard and difficult Saora area. The rate of special pay may vary from place to place.

1.23. Some extra leave in excess of what is given to a government official working in comparatively well-communicated areas may be granted to teachers working in the Saora area. This may be applicable to the teachers who do not belong to the Saora area.

1.24. Facilities for newspapers and other reading materials may be made available to the teachers. Limited finances of the State may

not permit supply of such articles to each and every teacher. But a representative number of places which are not well-communicated may be selected and teachers posted there may be supplied these articles. These may also be passed on from one teacher to the other. The teachers who want to appear in matriculation or other examinations may be encouraged and they may be helped in increasing their educational qualification.

I.25. A Saora applicant may be preferred for appointment as teacher if the gap in qualification and training between him and a non-tribal applicant is not too wide.

II. *Medium of Instruction and Mother Tongue*

II.1. The medium of instruction in the lower primary stage may be the mother tongue of the Saora. Up to class III only Saora dialect may be taught but in class III Oriya equivalent words may be used. There is no dispute about the usefulness of the regional language for the Saora, but as they do not understand it, the introduction of Saora dialect in the beginning is necessary.

II.2. In the upper primary stage the medium of instruction may be the regional language, that is, Oriya.

II.3. In classes IV and V, that is, in upper primary stage, Saora dialect may be introduced as a subject after the ground has been prepared by training enough number of teachers knowing Saora dialect and by producing suitable text-books and other reading materials in that dialect.

II.4. In schools where the number of Saora students is more than the non-tribal students, the medium of instruction may be Saora dialect. It is generally found that the Saora live in a compact area and very few non-tribal families live there and hence there will be no difficulty in introducing Saora dialect as medium of instruction.

II.5. If the number of Saora students and non-tribal students is almost equal and the Saora students have not been able to learn Oriya, there may be two different sections for the Saora and non-tribal students.

II.6. In the schools where the Saora students are in minority the medium of instruction may be Oriya.

II.7. For teaching Saora as a subject books will have to be written in that language. For this purpose the latter will have to be given a script. Oriya script may be used with slight modifications, if necessary, to represent the sounds which cannot be represented by the existing alphabets of Oriya Script.

II.8. The contents of books should be such as to arouse interest among the Saora and should be related to their culture. Materials for

the books may be drawn from their folk-tales, folklore, festivals, myths and legends and social, economic and religious aspects of their culture. For this a close collaboration between writers, educationists, anthropologists and curriculum experts would be necessary. Such books are likely to create interest among the Saora students and better their educational performance. Teachers knowing Saora may render valuable assistance in preparing such books.

III. *Wastage and Stagnation*

III.1. The very high percentage of wastage and stagnation needs to be checked. The teachers should persuade the parents as well as the children to get the latter admitted to the school. Teachers may also contact them for regular attendance of the students. It may be made the specific job of the teachers by issuing suitable instructions.

III.2. No financial help may be given to the parents as inducements to send their children to school. This is likely lo convert education into a business proposition. And once this practice is establised the parents will not send their children to school unless they are compensated in cash.

III.3. The school timings have to be adjusted with the occupational engagements of the Saora to enable them to take work from their children and then send them to school.

III.4. 'Curriculum of the tribal school should not differ from the curriculum of other schools, otherwise it will be difficult for the tribal children who take to higher education, but the teaching methods, class room practices, play ground and other activities of the school should be organized in such a way as to give full scope for the development of personality of the tribal children and for fostering their social attitude in the right direction.'[1]

III.5. 'As in case of education in the primary stage for the tribal students it should be craft-oriented; as far as possible the craft should be suitable to the local conditions.'[2]

III.6. Efforts may be made to persuade the parents to get their children admitted at an early and appropriate age. The teachers may make a list of children of school-going age before the academic session begins and persuade their parents to get them admitted. While inspecting the schools the Sub-Inspectors of Schools may supervise the preparation of such lists and in enrolment of students included in the list.

IV Economic and Social Problems Affecting Education

IV.1. The present practice of giving stipends to the students of

upper primary classes may also be extended to the Saora students reading in lower primary classes. Generally, the stipend is awarded on merit-*cum*-means basis but for the Saora area this may also be on the basis of regular attendance in the school. This may be a good incentive not only for the students but also for the parents.

IV.2. The agencies for motivating the Saora to send their children to schools may be made active and the officers may visit the Saora villages more frequently and motivate them properly.

V. Causes of Adult Illiteracy

V.1. There is a need for opening more adult literacy classes in the Saora villages. The condition of having a minimum number of adults to open an adult literacy class may be waived.

V.2. There may be regular supervision and inspection of adult literacy classes. Surprise visits may also be made to check whether the classes are run.

V.3. The teachers who conduct adult literacy classes may be paid a more handsome allowance. The better remuneration and incentive to teachers for this work may certainly add to their willingness to work and show good results.

V.4. The knowledge imparted in the adult literacy classes may not be confined to only knowledge of reading and writing but may also include some other aspects such as information about better methods of agriculture, citizenship and development programme of the country and the like.

V.5. Incentives in the shape of rewards or prizes to adult literacy classes may also be given.

V.6. Timings of adult literacy classes may be fixed in consultation with the adults.

V.7. Better motivation for literacy and realization of the importance of education among the Saora is necessary. For this, it is desirable that the officers and workers made frequent visits to the Saora villages and motivate them.

V.8. Provision for more audio-visual aids may be made. Small and portable type of aid material may be used in the Saora area.

V.9. More facilities for follow up of neo-literate may be given. More and suitable literature for them may also be produced and distributed.

V.10. Reading material may be written in Saora dialect.

With these recommendations we wind up our discussion of the educational problems of the Saora of Orissa. After what has been said and discussed one would naturally expect that if sincere efforts are made, and programmes are properly planned and implemented, the educational development of the Saora can be speeded up to a considerable extent.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1. *The Constitution of India* (As modified up to 1st November, 1956), The Manager of Publications, Delhi, p. 27.
2. Tribal words have not been pluralized. Verb indicates the number.
3. The actual number of teacher, perent and student-respondents of the Saora area is less than the calculated number according to the sample because in some of the schools there were no teachers and the posts were lying vacant for a long time. And when the teachers were not there, no student attended the schools.

Chapter Two

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2. *M.W.M. Yeatts in Census of India, Vol, XIV, pt. . i,* p. 286.
3. Bhagirathi Chowdhury, 'Saora', *Adivasi*, Tribal Reasearch Bureau, Orissa, 1963-64, Number Three, 1st January, 1964, p. 101.
4. Verrier Elwin, *The Religion of an Indian Tribe,* Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1958, p. 12.
5. R.V. Russel and Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces of India, (Vol. IV)*, London.
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7. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

Chapter Three

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Chapter Seven

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2. Sachchidananda, 'Socio-economic Aspects of Tribal Education', *Tribal Education in India—Report of the National Seminar on Tribal Education in India*, Tribal Education Unit, National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, 1967, p. 108.

Chapter Eight

CAUSES OF ADULT ILLITERACY

1. Sachchidananda, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

Chapter Nine

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *Tribal Education in India—Report of the National Seminar on Tribal Education in India*, Tribal Education Unit, National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, 1967, p. 192.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 192.



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